

MALAYAN MERDEKA ISSUE



# EASTERN WORLD

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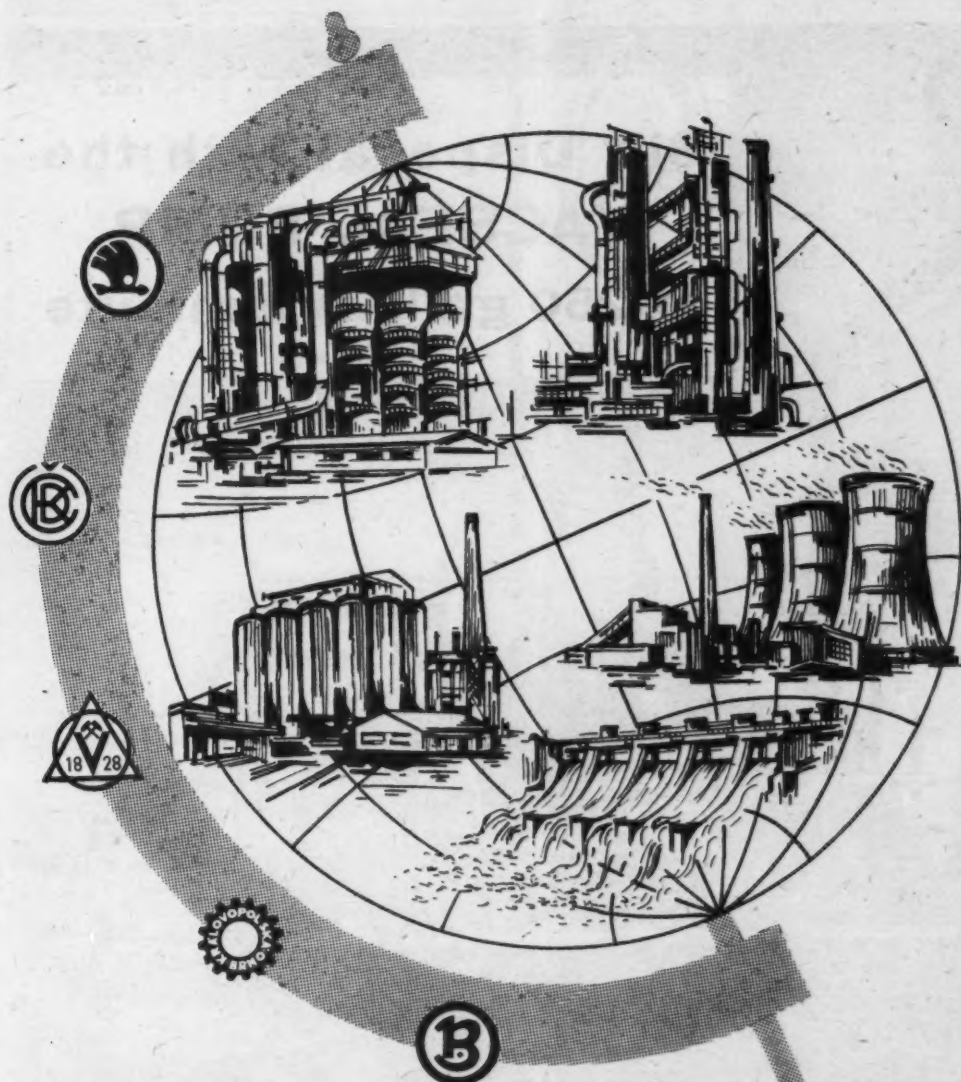
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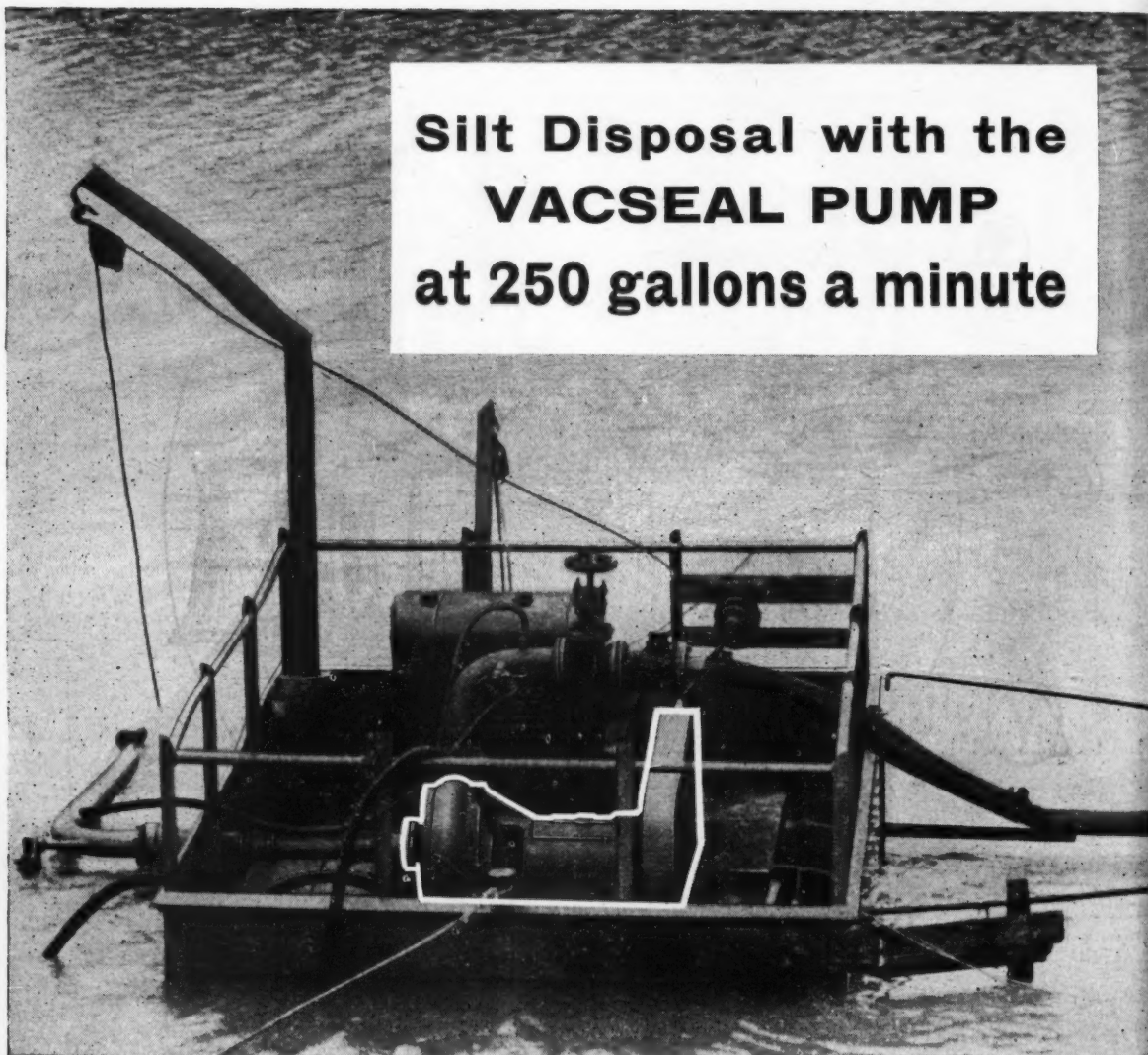
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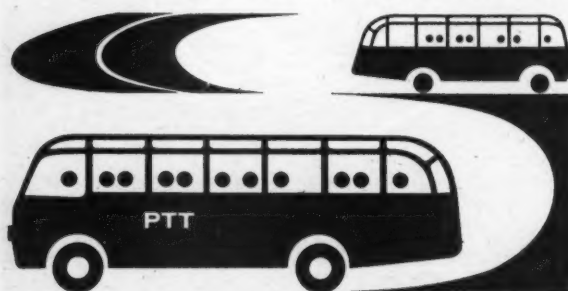
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*The Editor does not hold himself responsible for opinions expressed in signed articles.*

Front cover picture: A view from inside the Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, capital of independent Malaya. (Photo by H. C. Taussig)



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## Merdeka and Beyond

ON the last day of this month exploding firecrackers and gay festivities will herald Merdeka for Malaya. The day will be a further landmark in the affairs of post-war Asia—another country will, happily, be added to those who have peacefully achieved independence.

Malaya must count herself fortunate that the mantle of colonial control has so easily slipped from her shoulders. She has gained freedom after a comparatively short period of negotiation, and the element of struggle has throughout been all but absent. The transfer of power has gone smoothly, but the country's racial composition, and her geographical position, together with other factors, indicate that the rough passage is yet to come.

When the tumult of the freedom celebrations has died down, Tunku Abdul Rahman's Government has some serious matters to tackle. It is never easy for the men who have led a country to independence to adapt themselves to the day-to-day tasks of policy and administration, but those who have been in the vanguard of a long and bitter struggle have, as a general rule, acquired a mature sense of responsibility. Whether this will be the case with the Malayan Alliance is yet to be seen, but signs that were apparent some time ago among certain of its leading members who were looking towards Merdeka as the time for a share out of comfortable ambassadorial and other jobs, did not give cause for much confidence.

Because the leaders of independent Malaya are not identified in the minds of the populace with a long, harsh struggle for independence, they may be without the asset of popular adulation and trust, which have so often given the impetus to many leaders of newly independent nations. It has been noted before in these columns that the pattern of the strive for freedom in Malaya differs from that in other countries of the region because the leadership has not emerged from a long tradition of the people's struggle. Leadership in Malaya has been, so to speak, imposed from the top and consists generally of the products of the well-off and comfortable commercial and privileged classes. In the nature of Malaya's feelings about the colonial attachment, this is not necessarily a bad thing. Without that leadership Malaya would, doubtless, not be celebrating independence on the

thirty-first.

However, the atmosphere of pending independence has created a political awareness among Malaysians which is becoming more robust every day, and as a consequence some sounds of dissatisfaction are becoming audible, especially from the non-Malay section of the population. Self-government is always a problem in territories with plural societies, but the Alliance Party moved into the forefront of the movement for independence because it was a multi-racial party, dedicated to a united, as well as an independent, Malaya.

The new constitution for Malaya, agreed in London between the Chief Minister and the British Colonial Secretary, has already given rise to misgivings. In some parts it has gone back on the recommendations of the Reid report, especially in respect of safeguarding the position of the Malay race. The Malays will be privileged in the selection for official posts and civil service appointments. Under the Reid Commission's proposals this situation was to be reviewed after fifteen years; now it is to remain indefinitely. In this sort of circumstance lie the seeds of the trouble that the new Government will have to face in the infancy of its freedom, for the Malayan Chinese, who were not wholly satisfied with the Reid Commission proposals, will not be ready to accept the restrictions the constitution places upon what they think of as their citizenship rights.

The outburst by Mr. S. M. Yong and two other nominated Malayan Chinese members of the Assembly last month is symptomatic of the feeling that is growing in the country. If these three gentlemen, not usually considered to be willing to enter into the cut and thrust of political debate, were sufficiently moved to protest that the fruits of independence were being shared unequally, then it is not difficult to judge the depth of objection in the country. And it is not sufficient for prominent members of the Malayan Chinese Association to point to their association's endorsement of the constitution and to protest that such opinions as Mr. Yong and his friends expressed are not a true reflection of Chinese opinion. The truth is that the MCA just does not have the following of the majority of the urban Chinese, a great many of whom are disenfranchised.

The constitution is a very thorough document, and there is no doubt that it is one on which a democratic structure could be built, so long as racial antagonisms can be kept out of the picture. And yet democracy cannot flourish while much of the population has no right to vote for the government whose laws and edicts affect equally those who are, and those who are not, allowed to vote.

It is not possible to speculate in a few words on how democracy, in the western image, will function in the Malayan context. Many people in the West are beginning to believe that western parliamentary concepts are not valid in Asia at the present time, that populations are not ready for it. In Malaya the standards of literacy and understanding are very high as compared with other countries of Asia, and it would be a feather in the cap of Tunku Rahman if he could show that democracy could work successfully.

More is, of course, needed than the mere trappings of the democratic experiment. One thing that has manifested itself in Asia with some clarity in recent years is that people there have not been captivated by the idea of free enterprise democracy. If democracy is to be successfully equated in people's minds with freedom from colonial tutelage, then it must be shown to bring benefits and a higher standard for all; for people in a newly independent country see themselves as having achieved equality as well as freedom, and they do not want to find, as did the inmates of George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, that some are more equal than others. Free enterprise systems have signally failed in Asia to make a show of equality. The gaps between the privileged and the underprivileged have widened under such systems. The big question to arise is whether the Alliance Government is composed of the sort of thinking that would tolerate anything other than a free enterprise democracy. Will the Malayan system follow

the Indian pattern, or will it more closely reflect the type now on show in South Viet Nam—America's tardy showpiece in Asia?

Much, it is supposed, will depend on how close the new Malayan Government will follow American reasoning on the affairs of South-East Asia. Dollars, there is no denying, are seductive. In the past half year it has more than once been rumoured that Tunku Rahman would like to hitch Malaya to the SEATO wagon. This would surely be an early sign that confidence was lacking. But it has been noted, with some disappointment, that since Malaya achieved the first steps towards full independence, some of the Alliance leaders have behaved as if Merdeka was a gift being given to them alone by the generous British Colonial Office, and that it must be safeguarded against those within the country who might take some sort of unspecified advantage of it. If some in the leadership are thinking along the lines that Merdeka is a protection of their privilege, then it is not a long step from there to the reasoning that the machinery of SEATO is well suited to assist in that protection. Many things can be labelled subversion, and SEATO has a handy clause designed especially to deal with it.

All who believe in freedom and sovereign dignity for all people will wish Malaya well in its new venture. But it would be less than honest not to point to the difficulties that she is likely to encounter beyond Merdeka, especially as many of those difficulties are likely to be created by the same processes of reasoning as one would expect to find in colonial administrations. It is, crudely, the "something-to-defend" mentality. Tunku Rahman and many of his able lieutenants are sincere and dedicated to the future of independent Malaya, but they should be alert to the kind of influence within their own ranks which can do their cause—the cause of Malayan freedom and progress—the greatest harm.

## MR. KISHI'S NEW TEAM

**F**ACTIONALISM within the parties has bedevilled political life in Japan in the post-war period, and has been responsible for a succession of weak governments. This has been particularly apparent with the present majority party, the Liberal Democrats, where more time and energy has been spent on discussion and argument between the factions than there has on good government. The needs of the country, and the hopes of the people have, for too long, been sacrificed at the altar of individual political ambitions.

The Cabinet reshuffle undertaken last month by Mr. Nobusuke Kishi, the Prime Minister, has done little to eradicate this state of affairs. In an effort to avoid transplanting party factionalism to his own Cabinet he has been forced to gather a team together that is notorious only for its mediocrity. The men he has chosen will not excite confidence among the Japanese people that Mr. Kishi intends to strengthen the cause of democracy in Japan. Quite a number of the members of the Cabinet are people who figured in one way or another in pre-war administration, and their appointments now can only mean that the new Government

is going to get a little tougher with left-wing activities and is preparing itself to meet trade union claims with firmness.

Mr. Kishi's trip to Washington, and his effusive welcome there, gave him the confidence to get ahead under a thoroughly conservative banner knowing that he would not worry his American friends. No one yet knows what the Prime Minister intends his programme shall be, but the one thing to figure prominently is the promotion of a trade offensive in South-East Asia. There has been a great deal of talk about Japan's economic diplomacy, and Mr. Kishi now plans to put this into practice. It needs careful preparation internally, and Mr. Ichimada, the Finance Minister, is just the man to put measures for deflation into operation at home so that the success of the South-East Asia plan is assured. The workers are going to feel the pinch, while the big industrial firms will receive the plums. Other domestic activities will be drastically affected, and there has already been some bitter comment from educationalists who see a curtailment of the education programme in the offing.

It is not, however, going to be a straightforward task

for Mr. Kishi. He not only has to reckon with opposition from the left-wing inspired trade unions, and increased political activity by the Socialist party who will be using the shortcomings of the government to further its own position among the electorate, but within the Liberal-Democratic Party itself there are still elements powerful enough to make things uncomfortable for the Prime Minister. And he cannot reckon without them. In a Cabinet bristling with undistinguished persons, it is not going to be very difficult for some of the leading personalities in the government party to make themselves heard in discussions on policy.

Different views still prevail as to where Japan should stand diplomatically with regard to the United States and the Soviet Union, and although Mr. Kishi is a believer in a policy of independent action for Japan, he is inclined to look across the Pacific to the fountainhead of free enterprise democracy more than many of his party followers would like. In his choice of Foreign Minister he has indicated his view of Japan's role on external affairs. Mr. Fujiyama, the new man in the Foreign Office, is young compared with many in Japanese political life, and he has the advantage of being a personal friend of Mr. Kishi and of being neither a member of the Liberal Democratic Party nor of the Diet. He is a man who is supported by no faction, and as the former head of the Chamber of Commerce, he is thought of very highly in Washington. His appointment will please the Americans, especially as he has the kind of business flair that will be of help to him in the promotion of Japan's economic diplomacy. He knows how to deal with free enterprise agencies in foreign countries, and his new position in the Foreign Office will help the Prime Minister coordinate the growth of Japanese big business with the finding of markets abroad for Japanese output.

The source from which the Prime Minister's troubles are likely to spring is the powerful Kono-Ohno faction in the party. Mr. Ichiro Kono, the power behind the Cabinet of the former Prime Minister, Mr. Hatoyama, has been given the post of State Minister in Charge of Economic Planning in the new Government. Mr. Kono is an ambitious man who has gathered round him a most influential and powerful group

of people in the Liberal-Democratic Party, among whom is the vice-President of the party, Mr. Ohno. It was Mr. Kono who proved the most successful of all emissaries to Moscow at the time of the negotiations with Russia last year about the Habomai and Shikotan Islands. His relations with the Russian leadership are such as to cause concern in some quarters in Tokyo, as well as in the US State Department. No one would suggest that Mr. Kono was pro-Communist, but his reputation in Moscow is at least as high as Mr. Kishi's in Washington, and Mr. Kono is not slow to nurture this factor to increase his strength within the party.

For the moment it suits the Prime Minister's policy to retain Mr. Kono as the link with the Soviet Union. The Japanese dilemma has little changed over the past eighteen months. She still has to loosen her ties with the United States without offending that latter country, but at the same time not drawing too close to Russia. To have Mr. Fujiyama on one side and Mr. Kono on the other gives Mr. Kishi some sort of balance. But Mr. Kono is a politician of some experience and strength, and he has designs upon the Prime Ministership. With his influence increasing among party members, as well as on the political scene generally, the present Cabinet does not appear to have much of a stable and peaceful future.

On the domestic front there is, however, broad agreement, and it seems that Mr. Kishi's new Cabinet will soon get down to its task of tightening up loose ends in the economy and challenging the trade unions in their demands for better conditions and higher wages. Japan's foreign exchange position is not over strong, and with many reasonable excuses to back up his theory Mr. Kishi is ready to make a show of strength.

Meanwhile the Socialist party, ridden with factionalism almost to the same extent as the Liberal-Democrats, are alert to the opportunity of gaining support by the present Government's unpopular acts. They will certainly have the backing of the trade unions, but much of the population of Japan, especially the peasantry, is conditioned to bureaucracy and is traditionally conservative, and Mr. Kishi's policy of economic diplomacy and expanding trade may initially satisfy the hopes of the people.

## Comment

### Sterling for Indian Planning

**W**HILE Prime Minister Macmillan talks of "Commonwealth first" and Britain's determination "to maintain a high rate of investment," Treasury officials and experts discourage any idea of financial assistance to India in that country's difficult period of transition towards industrial power. The same division of opinion is also to be found outside official circles. Only a few really want to come to India's aid, while the majority of the financial commentators remain hostile to India.

By contrast, India shows a reasoned attachment to the sterling area that equals her determination to remain a

member of the Commonwealth. Only a handful of Indians clamour to cut loose from Commonwealth and sterling alike. It is a sign of India's self-confidence that such emotionalism is not allowed to obscure the general purposes of the nation. The same cannot be said about Britain today.

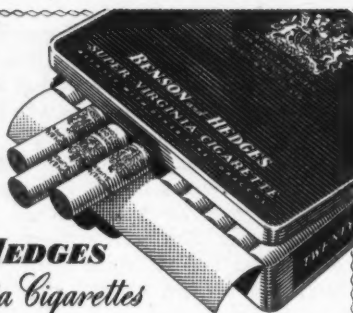
Within a few months, India will be facing a large number of foreign bills due for payment, for which she has no foreign currency in hand. To meet this situation, she would like Britain's assistance in credits, loans or guarantees, rather than to have to go outside sterling resources or to resort to very drastic measures at home. The need is variously estimated at between £150 and £200 million—approximately 1 percent of what Britain spends annually on defence—spread



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over eighteen months beginning next autumn. This is not chicken-feed, easily dispensed by Britain, to be sure. But neither is it a problem beyond Britain's sterling and other resources.

The first step would be for Britain to recognise it is in her own interest to help India's expansion, and then to set about finding the means. When Britain in the past chose to meet such costs as for example the Berlin air-lift, or the wars in Korea, Malaya and Suez, her finances were in an even more parlous state than they are now. It is worth comparing the heavy cost of armaments in Britain's NATO partnership with the profitable trade India has provided during these years. One may at least argue whether NATO or any of these other expenditures have brought comparable rewards.

More than ever, economic and financial relations with India are likely to become in the near future an essential safety line for Britain, especially if realisation of a European free trade area should put too great a strain on the Imperial Preference System and the sterling area. Britain would then want all the trade she could get from an industrialised India. The patterns of British industry, however elastic, are set for industrial markets.

India's credit position is sound. India has a sterling reserve of £350 million with the Bank of England, much more than the help she is looking for. Since India is anxious to maintain this reserve, it provides an ample security for any credit or loan Britain may provide.

Those who ask with ponderous suspicion whether Britain ought to help India must surely know that India has no obligation whatsoever to keep so large a reserve in London. No independent country in the world holds foreign currency abroad as backing for its note issue. India does so, not out of any sentimental attachment for old British ties, but because she finds it to her interest. In the 1948 sterling settlement, India agreed to leave a large balance blocked in London. Again in 1949, India devalued the rupee simultaneously with Britain's devaluation of the pound. Even after the Suez adventure, India twice drew dollars from the International Monetary Fund, which by adding to the sterling pool helped British reserves under a heavy strain. Though India did none of these things with the primary purpose of helping Britain, this was also a consideration. India acted on the principle that support for the sterling area banker was also in her own interests.

Indian production is increasing at a higher rate than Britain's, new industries are being established at a greatly accelerated pace, profits are high, and exports are up. The new factories, dams, and foundries are sound securities. All this is being achieved with careful accounting. India does not build ice-cream factories or cinema palaces with her foreign resources. Imports of luxuries and non-essential consumer goods are drastically cut. There is austerity coupled with a confident economy, full of spring for a further advance.

The rupee is an emergent international currency. It is still a poor fourth to the dollar, sterling and the rouble, but its place is assured. Though sterling and the rupee are freely convertible, the rupee is now under-valued as compared to sterling. Inflation has been better controlled in India. Except for Switzerland, no other country has a better showing in holding the value of its currency steady, India and West Germany being usually bracketed in second place. The Indian bank rate is lower and much steadier than Britain's has been in recent years. A firm and trusting alliance between sterling and the rupee would enable each of them to hold its own against both the dollar and the rouble.

It is often argued that India's industrialisation should be helped not least in order to demonstrate the superiority of such democratic endeavours to the Communist methods of China. But British industrialists and businessmen have shown little interest in such political considerations. They look with optimism to Indian trade and investment opportunities. Private capital from Britain is flowing to India at a higher rate than ever before, and is most welcome in India. The vast needs of the Second Five-Year Plan cannot, however, be satisfied from private sources alone. Only the British Government and British financial institutions can give assistance on a sufficient scale.

Hard-headed businessmen ought not to leave the field of public comment wholly to captious critics. They should devote some of their acumen to shedding light on the mutual benefits to be derived from an expansion in economic co-operation between Britain and India.

## Changes in Nepal

THE departure of Mr. T. Prasad Acharya from the post of Prime Minister in Nepal took place at his own request. It appears that his party, the Praja Parishad, wished him to reorganise his Cabinet in such a way as to do away with the three Ministers nominated by King Mahendra. Because the King refused to have a Cabinet without royal nominees, Mr. Prasad Acharya asked to be relieved of office.

The King would hardly consider this to be an irreparable loss, for the former Prime Minister was regarded with some suspicion in Nepal because of his accommodating attitude towards Communist China. And when armed riots against landlords took place in southern Nepal last May, he did not condemn them outright as being Communist inspired, as many in Nepal thought he ought. He said that the rebels used the name of the Communist Party to cover its activities.

It would seem logical for the King to call upon Mr. B. P. Koirala's Nepali Congress Party to form a government, but as this party is a progressive Socialist (although openly anti-Communist) party, it seems reasonable to suppose that



its objective, outlined by Mr. B. P. Koirala at a meeting in May as "a free, impartial, socialist Welfare State," would be incompatible with the nomination of Ministers by the King. In the event Dr. K. I. Singh, the one-time rebel leader, was asked to try to constitute a Cabinet, and he has said he was prepared to accept royal nominees.

Whichever Cabinet takes office, its term will be short-lived, because general elections are shortly forthcoming, and they ought to show a majority for the well organised Nepali Congress.

### Mr. Suhrawardy

THOSE who have known Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy in the past, before he became Prime Minister of Pakistan, will doubtless have noticed a marked change in his recent political thinking. He was always a tough politician, shrewd, clever, astute, confident in his beliefs and sure of himself. Since he has been wearing the mantle of Premiership at the head of a Constituent Assembly which is not in the majority behind him, his confidence, in knowing what Pakistan needs to put her on the road to political stability and economic viability, has not been so manifest.

His is not an easy task. To maintain himself in a position where he can perhaps bring some benefit to his country, he has to placate those elements in Pakistan that two years ago he was vigorously denouncing. The party which he leads, the Awami League, has campaigned against the old guard of the Muslim League — the landlords and the privileged classes. These still continue to have a large influence in the country under Mr. Suhrawardy's Ministry.

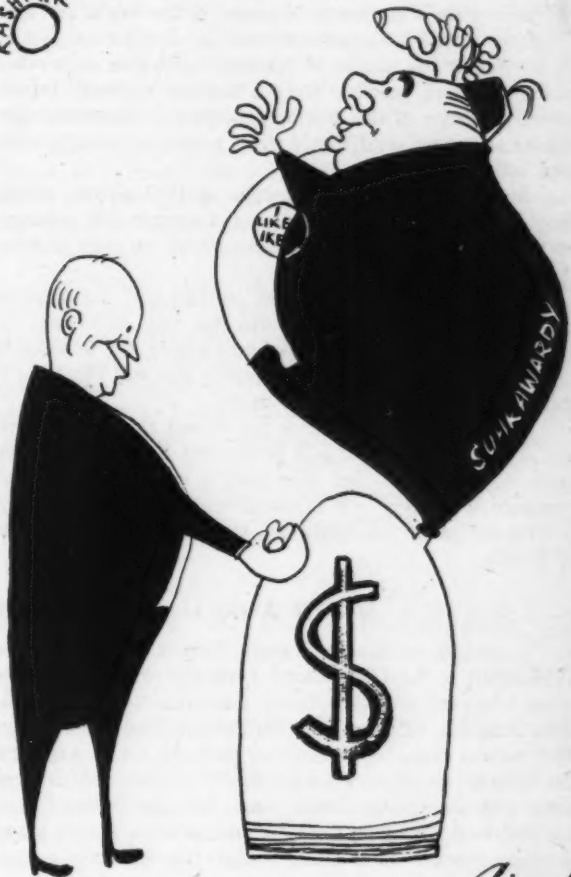
Those people outside Pakistan who believed that Mr. Suhrawardy's qualities and political acumen were just what the country needed to rectify the fundamental wrongs, have so far been disappointed. Few of the ideas that he would so convincingly expound when he was in opposition to successive Muslim League ministries have yet to be put into practice, or even look as if they might soon be. Much of his toughness and determination also seems to have left him. But this is perhaps because he likes being a Prime Minister, and has acquired a "sense of office."

The most alarming aspect of Mr. Suhrawardy's changed outlook, however, seems to be in the field of foreign policy. A keen eye for expediency did not, in the past, cloud his view that the ordinary people of Pakistan were out of sympathy with Karachi's close attachment to western policy and strategy in the south Asia region. It is true that he was never a great authority on foreign affairs, but the views he would express, some in private, a few outspokenly, were more or less typical of the Asian politician who eschewed alignments of any sort. On occasions he was an embarrassment to the government of the day. He has always had decided opinions on India, Mr. Nehru, and on the issue of Kashmir that conformed to the general Pakistani pattern of argument, but it would have been difficult to detect in him the notion that close association with the West was a necessary aid to Pakistan's confidence and strength.

It is either a very different or a very shrewd Suhrawardy who speaks today. It is he who now praises the need for Pakistan's membership of SEATO and the Baghdad Pact. To the United States Congress last month he said it was a

privilege for Pakistan to ally itself with the US in the great American adventure — "the adventure of establishing in the world the rights of the individual and in opposing the measures that tend to trample that spirit of humanity which seeks evolution and expression in peace." Admirable sentiments, but is this the same H. S. Suhrawardy, from a

KASHMIR



Pakistan little changed in the last two or three years, who said in 1955 that the ordinary individual in Pakistan had few rights under the ruling classes there? Is it the same man, the leader of the Awami League, who expressed concern on behalf of the people of East Pakistan at the policy pursued by Mr. Mohamed Ali, a former Prime Minister, of getting Pakistan caught up in the "American crusade"?

But perhaps Mr. Suhrawardy should not be criticised too harshly. There have been other Asian leaders who have spoken fulsome words in Washington, the echoes of which have soon died in the light of subsequent actions. It is possible that at this time he finds discretion the better part of expediency. There is no politician in Pakistan of Mr. Suhrawardy's calibre, and in the present state of the country he plays a very precarious game. The cards he has laid on the table since he has been in office are not very inspiring. We must wait to see whether he has anything worthwhile up his sleeve.

# TOWARD KOREA'S TOMORROW

By Yongjeung Kim (President, Korean Affairs Institute, Washington)

**F**OUR years after the signing of an Armistice in Korea there still is no peace. Nowhere in the world are such huge armed forces concentrated in so small an area as in Korea. Hostile armies of 1,500,000 men face each other across the 38th parallel. Korean national economy cannot afford a fraction of that number; the gigantic forces are subsidised and maintained by the great powers to preserve their own self-interest.

Since the Armistice Agreement of 1953 no real efforts have been exerted to restore peace and unity to that unhappy nation. Emphasis has been placed, instead, on strengthening the armed forces.

Such misconceived, suicidal policies will risk another hot war which—this time—will not only incinerate the Korean nation but more than likely engulf the homelands of the self-imposed guardians. Another war will bring not a solution but the annihilation of us all.

If the Korean question is not settled through political and diplomatic means it will be decided by economics, not arms. In poverty-stricken Asia food is more powerful than weapons. Whichever side of the divided country effectively relieves the people of hunger and misery, will win the battle of Korea.

## SOUTH KOREA

According to the UN Korean Reconstruction Agency's 1956 report to the UN General Assembly covering the previous 12-month period, external assistance to south Korea from June 25, 1950 to June 30, 1956 totalled a little over \$1.5 billion, exclusive of direct military aid. Of this amount the United Nations contributed \$139.2 million and the rest came from the United States. Since 1953 the United States has sustained the south Korea regime with an annual grant of three-quarters of a billion dollars for its defence and economic support.

The report noted "moderate advances" in industry and "substantial improvement" in mining during 1956. While hydroelectric power generation increased slightly (512 against 502 million kWh), thermal generation nearly doubled—301 against 152 million kWh.

Despite financing difficulties, over 6,000 housing units were completed or under way by June 30. However, the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs estimated a need for some 900,000 housing units.

Prices of most commodities continued to rise during the fiscal year 1956. The index number of retail prices for all commodities rose by 21.2 percent. The average wage increase was slightly over 25 percent.

The money supply rose more than 52 percent between June 30, 1955 and June 30, 1956—from 65 billion to 99 billion *hwan*. "The most significant factor contributing to the increase of the money supply . . . was the expansion of

bank credit," reported the UN agency. "Loans by commercial banks and the Bank of Korea rose by 46.1 billion *hwan* to a total of 95.7 billion *hwan*. Government overdrafts, less deposits at the Bank of Korea, actually reached a peak of 54.1 billion *hwan* in January 1956, but transfers from the ICA (International Cooperation Administration) counterpart fund during the ensuing five months were instrumental in effecting a reduction of nearly 50 percent, to the 27.7 billion *hwan* total of June 30, 1956. . . ."

It further commented: "It remains obvious that, although the government of the Republic of Korea is able to meet the costs of regular governmental operations from taxes and customs duties and provide a surplus as well, normal revenues are clearly inadequate to meet the costs of either maintaining the present defence forces, or of financing the local costs of the economic rehabilitation programme."

The Bank of Korea reports that export earnings during 1956 amounted only to \$25,150,000 against import expenditures of \$381,540,000. The official rate between the *hwan* and the US dollar is 500 to 1, but at this writing a "black market" deal reportedly calls for 1,200 to 1.

But one encouraging note was sounded recently by Dr. Chester W. Wood, Chief of the Education Division of the Office of the UN Command's Economic Coordinator. He said more than 20,000 classrooms have been built during the past two and a half years and elementary-school enrollment has increased from 70 to 90 percent of all school-age children.

Despite large American subsidies, millions of south Koreans now face starvation because of the rice shortage caused mainly by unfavourable weather conditions last summer. Many subsist on meagre rations or the roots of weeds or bark from trees.

Apparently, reconstruction and rehabilitation programmes are not progressing fast enough to relieve the misery-ridden population effectively.

## NORTH KOREA

After the Armistice of 1953 the Kim Il Sung regime announced that the Soviet Union agreed to grant one billion rubles (\$250,000,000) and the People's Republic of China promised 8 trillion *yuan* (\$317,000,000) for the rehabilitation of north Korea. Some material and technical assistance from other Communist-bloc nations has been reported.

It is impossible to ascertain the actual progress of reconstruction and rehabilitation in north Korea because there is no verification by non-Communist agencies or observers. Furthermore, what the north Korean regime gives out as statistics is in percentages and very seldom in absolute figures.

A Pyongyang broadcast claimed that the total industrial production quota for 1956 (last year of the postwar Three Year Plan) was fulfilled by 111 percent—a 27 percent in-

crease over 1955. This bright picture might have been painted for propaganda purposes; nevertheless, some of the assertions are listed for the reader's consideration. The Ministry of Metal Industry, for example, allegedly fulfilled its quota by 110 percent, Machine Industry 106 percent, Electricity 116 percent, Chemical Industry 114 percent, and Light Industry 115 percent. But the broadcast acknowledged failure to fulfil production quotas for certain items such as iron sulphide ore, rolled steel, semi-Diesel engines, motorboats, timber for ship-building, and salt. The Ministries of Coal Industry and Fisheries are credited, respectively, with 96 percent and 86 percent of their quotas.

It is also claimed that during 1956 twenty thousand *chungbo* (1 *chungbo* equals 2.45 acres) of waste and fallow land were reclaimed and 1,820,000 tons of silage and hay were produced, while milk cows increased over 1955 by 47 percent, cattle and oxen 9 percent, sheep and goats 35 percent and pigs 61 percent. However, it admitted that the quota for cattle and oxen was "not completely fulfilled."

It acknowledged that the quota for capital construction was fulfilled only by .83 percent of the aggregate state construction outlay of 26.3 billion *won*.

Retail prices for consumer goods in 1956 were reduced by 9 percent while the average annual cash wage for workers, engineers, technicians and clerks was raised by 17 percent.

The enforcement of universal compulsory education in 1956 increased attendance at schools of all levels to 2,080,000

students, or 80,000 over the preceding year. The state paid out 12.1 billion *won* for social and cultural welfare, or 2.6 billion *won* more than in 1955.

A 36 percent increase over 1955 in the value of foreign trade—49 percent in exports and 25 percent in imports—was claimed.

In the arbitrarily halved nation, the North has a slight edge in size. The South has better land and climate for agriculture but also has a population at least twice as large as that of the North to be fed. The North has better industrial resources—mineral, waterpower and forest.

But if Korea is reunited and the resources of the two halves are pooled, she can be made economically self-sufficient. That is what her people want, for they can then maintain their self-respect and independence as they cannot do in a situation of eternal charity.

It is hard to predict how long the contenders for global leadership can wage the cold war in Korea without getting into a hot one. While they may manage to prolong it for some time to come, it would be complacent to expect Korea to endure such undeserved affliction indefinitely. For their own good—as well as Korea's—a settlement must come through the less painful means of diplomacy and negotiations. It is about time they woke up to present-day realities. The great powers should now apply the long-overdue wisdom of statesmanship. Will the West take the initiative?

## INDIA'S ATTITUDE TO FOREIGN MISSIONARIES

By Rhona Ghate

**D**URING the last few years the position of Christian missions in India has been a matter of some concern, both to the missionaries themselves and to the Indian authorities. There have been signs of increasing friction, and anti-missionary feeling has been shown in various ways. Right-wing Hindu organisations have accused missionaries of forced conversions and have organised a counter-offensive to propagate Hinduism. In one state capital they even staged a "quit India" demonstration. There have been questions in Parliament in Delhi; and two states (Madhya Pradesh and Madhya Bharat) thought it necessary to appoint committees of enquiry to investigate missionary "activities."

What is the meaning of all this? Is it that India is going the way of China and may soon expel all foreign missionaries? The splendid part they have played in the past in building up educational and medical services is so well known, and the need for such services so great today, that it seems at first sight extraordinary that there should be the slightest question about their being welcome.

The committee of enquiry appointed by Madhya Pradesh reported recently, and its rather startling conclusions are worth studying as an uncompromising statement of the Hindu point of view. The immediate reason for the Committee's appointment was a series of reports of mass conversions in

certain backward areas with large aboriginal populations. It was alleged by local Hindus that after Independence numbers of missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, had come to these areas and were not only making conversions by dubious means, but also fomenting discontent with the new Government.

The Committee did not, however, limit itself to allegations of abuses in its own state, but went into the whole question of missionaries in India. Broadly, its conclusions were: (a) Missionaries in general use undue influence to obtain converts. Among unjustified methods of evangelism the Committee includes compulsory attendance at prayers in mission schools, holding prayers and distributing literature in hospitals, and influencing the minds of children in orphanages. (b) The backward areas have been made special "targets" of evangelistic effort both by Catholics and Protestants, and large sums of money are being used to obtain converts by offering advantages to Christians in schools, credit schemes, etc. Moreover, the Committee asserts that missionaries try to undermine the loyalty to their country of Christian converts; and thence it comes to the breath-taking conclusion that all this is a deliberate policy on the part of "imperial" governments, especially the USA, to detach Indian Christians from



their nation and to "combat national unity in colonial territories."

The report has received a good deal of publicity, and missionaries are naturally feeling resentful. Far from receiving thanks for centuries of selfless service, or for funds generously contributed by poor people in other countries, they find themselves accused of the most unworthy motives. To judge by letters in the newspapers, many Indians, non-Christian as well as Christian, have also felt shocked at the attitude of the report. The Protestant Churches have not at the time of writing published any statement, but the Catholic Bishops' Conference has protested strongly, and Cardinal Gracias of Bombay has summed up their view by asserting that "Christian missions from abroad are in India with only one purpose—to spend themselves in the service of this land and the Church."

Now, leaving aside for the moment the possibility of political implications, it seems to me that these words of Cardinal Gracias' contain a clue to an underlying difference of approach between Christians and Hindus which needs to be understood if the Indian attitude is not to be dismissed as irrational xenophobia. For, muddled and prejudiced as the Madhya Pradesh report is, it does express in extreme form what even moderate Hindus (and other non-Christian Indians) dimly feel—namely a resentment of what a Christian calls evangelism and the Madhya Pradesh report calls proselytisation. When a Catholic speaks of serving the Church, or a Protestant of spreading the Gospel, it seems to an Indian that he is unjustifiably assuming that his religion is superior to others. Gandhi expressed it bluntly when in numerous conversations with missionaries he asserted his belief that all religions are equal and that nobody has the right to try to convert another to his own faith. A similar attitude has been characteristic of many great Indians throughout history, and when the fifteenth century poet Qabir said, "God is One, whether we worship him as Allah or as Rama," he was voicing what is still the view of ordinary Indians.

This feeling that Christians are trying to "get something across" also explains why the Madhya Pradesh Committee regarded as undue influence methods that a Christian would think quite unobjectionable, such as distributing literature or holding prayers in a hospital.

In the areas with large numbers of aboriginals and other backward people the case against making converts is slightly different, and perhaps stronger. Ignorant and miserably poor as these people often are, they have usually a firmly rooted culture of their own, on which are based their simple pleasures of music, dance and seasonal festivals; and to wean them away from their traditions to new ideas which they are no more able to understand than children seems of doubtful value. Especially is this true when it is done, as it often is, by employing native preachers who have themselves only a superficial understanding of Christianity. Gandhi often protested against this appeal to the poor and ignorant; and Mr. Verrier Elwin, who has an unrivalled knowledge of the aboriginal tribes, has frequently deprecated the effect of conversion on such people.

Moreover, as so often in India, politics creeps in. Certainly the Madhya Pradesh Committee's charges of political activity on the part of missionaries in backward areas are not convincing; and still less is their idea of an international conspiracy likely to be taken seriously. But in a country whose greatest need is for national unity, and where minority groups do so often tend to form political factions, there is much to be said against encouraging any new kind of separatism. It is remembered that Mr. Nehru himself, who is the last person likely to show anti-Western feeling, attributed to missionaries a hand in the unrest among the Nagas of Assam.

These, broadly speaking, are the reasons why many Indians do feel a slight mistrust of missionaries, however much they recognise the valuable work being done in schools and hospitals. And since in general the first aim of all missions, both Catholic and Protestant, is evangelism, it is difficult to see how the two points of view can be reconciled. It is not just cynical to say that missionaries can only be welcome so long as they are comparatively unsuccessful.

What steps are likely to be taken by the Indian authorities?

The Madhya Pradesh Committee's recommendations are drastic. They suggest among other things that "those missionaries whose primary object is proselytisation should be asked to withdraw," that a government Board should "control" baptisms, and that only government agencies should be allowed to provide social services in backward areas. It is unlikely, however, that any of these steps will be taken by the Madhya Pradesh Government, if only because they will be restrained by the Union Government, which does not seem to be nearly so alarmed. In fact the Union Home Minister went out of his way recently to state categorically in answer to a question that there was no reason to suppose that missionaries were indulging in anti-Indian activities.

Nevertheless the Union Government have laid down in a statement certain principles which point to a gradual diminution in the numbers of foreign missionaries. The statement says that, whereas existing members of missions will ordinarily not be disturbed and will be allowed re-entry after leave, new appointments from abroad will be allowed only if they have outstanding qualifications or if a suitable Indian cannot be found. Also, before a mission opens a new branch of work the permission of the Government will be required.

This suggests that the Union Government would like to see in effect a gradual handing over of mission work into Indian hands. This seems a reasonable attitude, and is indeed what most missionaries themselves want. In fact many missions have ever since Independence been increasingly "Indianising" their institutions. Unless the more reactionary Hindu parties come into power, which is unlikely, official policy is not expected to go further. Mr. Nehru has called Christianity "one of the great religions of India," and he fully appreciates, as does every reasonable Indian, the magnificent record of social work which missionaries have to their credit.



# China's Agricultural 12-year Programme

By Chih Fu-jen (Peking)

**M**ANY people think that China will never be able to grow enough food for her huge population of several hundred millions which, at the same time, is increasing at the speed of two percent annually.

A cursory review of the production records shows that China, in her peak year before the war, produced 150 million tons of grains. The subsequent years following the Japanese invasion, however, saw a steady fall in output. By 1949 the figure was down to 113.2 million tons, a quarter less. But by 1952, three years later, the peak pre-war figure was surpassed by 10 percent. Another three years later the total for food grains alone went up to 174 million tons. Last year, the expected target was not met because of losses resulting from serious typhoon and flood damage, but the figure still rose to 184 million tons.

From the above figures it can be seen that food production has been steadily going up since 1949. According to official sources, the rate of increase is five percent annually. This is considerably higher than the world average of almost three percent as given by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations. (FAO also estimated the world population increases at the annual rate of one and a half percent).

In spite of the speed of her post-war recovery in food output (China's three years against the five to seven years in post-war Japan, Western Germany, France and Italy) and in spite of a wide margin of three percent between her food production and population increase, the per capita ration in China is still low. With last year's total of 184 million tons, the per capita figure comes up to only 600 catties (300 kilograms). Though much higher than ever before, it is only just an adequate ration and is still small by western standards.

Since last year, a new nation-wide effort has been under way to bring about a more rapid increase. It is in the form of a 12-year programme, which is expected at least to double the present production figure. Within the 12 years, even allowing for growth of the population, at the present rate of two percent, to reach 800 millions, the per capita ration will be 1,000 catties, three-quarters over the present average.

The plan is officially known as the *Draft National Programme for Agricultural Development* (1956-1967). Aside from more than doubling the food crops' return, the programme stipulates that cotton will be brought up to 4,500,000 tons. (Peak pre-war record, in 1936, was 850,000 tons). Increases in other food crops are called for. Corresponding

development in the livestock and fishing industries, in forestry and other allied fields are also targeted.

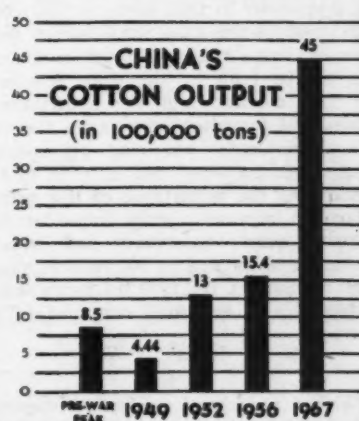
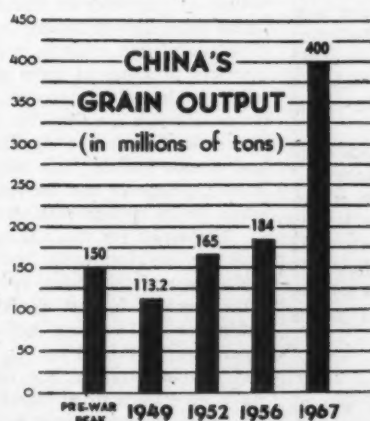
It should be noted here that this tremendous agricultural development is to be brought about mainly by methods other than extensive mechanized farming or large-scale reclamation of new land. The chief means is still, as it has been in the past, intensive cultivation to obtain the highest yield from each hectare of the existing arable.

The programme, therefore, is a product of the very special situation in China. Here, as in most under-developed agricultural countries, there exists a great fund of farming experience, but a sad lacking of machinery because of long social stagnation and the consequent low level of industrialization. Thus any plans of immediate large-scale opening of new land by machinery are ruled out as too expensive and impractical. The planners, therefore, chose to take full advantage of this rich fund of experience and the country's vast manpower potential.

The country is divided into roughly three different regions, for which three different sets of yield targets are fixed. For the richer areas south of the Huai River and an imaginary line extending to the west, the yield of food grains per mou (one-fifteenth of a hectare or roughly one-sixth of an acre), is to be increased from the 1955 figure of 400 catties to 800, a 200 percent increase. For areas north of the Huai and south of the Yellow River, the increase is from 208 to 500 catties, a 240 percent increase. For areas to the north, from 150 to 400 catties, a 260 percent increase.

Increase in cotton yield is from the 1955 national average of 35 catties per mou to 60, 80 or 100, depending upon the local conditions. The increases here are to reach as high as 300 percent and over.

Up to this point one may well ask whether these are paper or practical figures, or whether the programme is a feasible one as a whole.



The chief architect of the master plan was Mao Tse-tung. It was first in the form of 17 points which were then elaborated to become the present 40-point draft after the chief of state had consulted local officials in charge of agricultural production—Communist Party secretaries—from 14 provinces and Inner Mongolia. Views and suggestions were also sought from 1,300 prominent persons such as scientists working in industry, agriculture, medicine, public health and the social sciences, as well as leaders of other political parties.

The programme was submitted to the Supreme State Conference in January last year and made public to the nation the following month. Liao Lu-yen, the agriculture minister who presented the draft to the nation, forecast that the targets can be reached.

One of the foremost requisites given by the minister for the success of the programme is the fact that 90 percent of the peasant families are now in collective farms known as the "higher agricultural producers' cooperatives"\* in China. Another requisite is the unlimited source of manpower available. The cooperative farm movement, as it grows, will free yet more labour for productive work in the farms, and provide improved organization and management.

The programme stipulates two main ways of bringing up crop yields in the intensive farming drive.

For the first, ten concrete steps are given. These range from water conservancy projects to the more extensive use of improved farm tools, better methods of cultivation and extension of the high yield and multiple crop acreage.

For the second, five concrete steps are given. Three of these are aimed at the dissemination of the experiences of the best cooperative farms in the drive to increase crop yields. The rest is widespread introduction of technical knowledge.

In elaborating these steps, top priority is given to water conservancy. China in the past was almost synonymous with the words "flood" and "drought." Even today, large outlays still go every year to fight them. In the course of the next 12 years more large water conservancy projects, including the Sanmen Gorge dam, which will rank among the world's biggest, will be built by the state. Smaller ones which will blanket the country will be undertaken by the local authorities and the cooperative farms themselves.

The programme says that all ordinary floods and droughts should be wiped out in seven to twelve years.

Underlying the importance of this priority item is the 10 million ton increase in grain output last year—due largely to extensive water conservancy and irrigation work. The irrigated acreage jumped to 500 million mou from the 1955 figure of 390 million. (In 1949 the figure stood at 300 million mou). Yet this is less than one-third of the total arable under crops.



*Small-scale irrigation system in East China*

Also, soil erosion will be stopped. It has been carrying away millions of tons of fertile top soil each year, resulting also in the silting up of the Yellow and other rivers.

In the drive to extend the multiple-crop area, rice occupies a prominent place. It occupies only 26 percent of the total arable land, but makes up 45 percent of the total grain output. In some areas in the south this high-yield staple fetches in as high as 1,000 to 1,500 catties per mou. With the development of water conservancy and irrigation, the programme says, the present rice acreage will be extended to more northerly climes where the highest yield of wheat, for example, reaches only one-third that of rice.

Altogether, the area under rice is to be increased by 310 million mou, maize by 150 million mou and potatoes by 100 million mou.

Other points are aimed at raising the peasant's living, sanitary and health conditions. Within the period of seven to twelve years, according to the programme, the following will be wiped out: insect pests and plant diseases and, wherever possible, all diseases from which the people suffer most seriously—filariasis, hookworm, kala-azar, encephalitis, bubonic plague, malaria, smallpox and venereal diseases. The carriers of some of these diseases are rats, flies, mosquitoes and incidentally, sparrows. The last, 44 million of which were killed in the first few months last year alone, are being exterminated as one of the "four evils," not because they are disease carriers, but because each bird consumes five and a half grams of the harvest each day. In the same period, close to 29 million rats were exterminated.

Provided for the 500 million peasants, in the meantime, will be the following: new housing, electricity, radio re-diffusion and telephone, sports fields and recreation facilities. The world's biggest social insurance scheme—because it embraces 500 million peasants. The scheme is already in operation. Provided for by the cooperative farm system are old people, orphans, the disabled and others who generally have no means or ability of support. The significance is all the more singular since no social security provision of any kind had ever existed at any time in China's history. Employment for China's remaining unemployed in the cities.

\* A "higher agricultural producers' cooperative" is a fully socialist cooperative farm in which land and all other means of production are commonly owned and members paid according to the amount of work done.

Cooperative farms in Kiangsi Province, south China, alone asked for half a million last year.

The development of the 12-year agricultural programme is followed with the utmost attention in China, as not only the solution of the food problem, but also the progress of industrialization depends upon its success.

The success of the programme means:

Sufficient foodstuffs for the 80 million urban population and industrial workers whose number is increasing at equal pace with the speed of industrialization;

Sufficient raw material for the various industries, especially the consumer goods and other light industrial fields;

A huge market of 500 million peasants with increased living standards for industrial goods. This market, in turn, provides an important source of capital for the industrialization programme);

Foreign exchange, through the export of traditional and other farm produce, needed for the imports of high precision instruments and other machinery and equipment which China is yet unable to make herself.

Last February, exactly one year after the programme was initiated, deputy premier Ten Tse-hui told the National Model Agricultural Workers Conference: "We are convinced that it is absolutely possible to reach the grain and cotton targets outlined in the 40-point programme." Another high official, Chen Chen-jen, reporting to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference which was concluded in Peking in March, said that the yield targets set for the 12-year period had already been reached, not only by many individual cooperative farms, but by whole districts and counties. By the end of 1956 there were 17 such counties.

Liao Lu-yen, Minister of Agriculture, said that since these high yield targets were already reached by so many districts even during the first year, there was all the more reason to believe that the programme will be a success before the 12 years run out. Because as time goes on more factors contributing to increase crop yields will enter into the picture. They are irrigation, water conservancy, improved technique, better management, chemical fertilizer and mechanized farming.

When available, he said, at least 20 million tons of chemical fertilizers and from 1,200,000 to 1,500,000 standard 15 h.p. tractors are needed every year.

Since last year, a new factor has entered into the picture. Proponents of birth control have been vigorously putting forward their views in the belief that living standards and the per capita ration, in particular, will be increased much faster and higher if effective controls in births are introduced. By this spring the subject was officially discussed at the People's Political Consultative Conference, and the *People's Daily*, organ of the Communist Party, came out openly to advocate it. The Minister of Health, Madame Li-Teh-chuan, gave it formal endorsement, though a bit reluctantly.

So far the per capita ration has been figured on the premise that the 600 millions will grow unchecked at the rate of two percent. By 1967, the last year of the present programme, there will be presumably 800 millions dividing the expected 400 million tons of food grown. That comes up to 1,000 catties per head. However, as the growth of population is going to be checked, the per capita ration is expected to be much higher than 1,000.

And all this is to be achieved before the tractor becomes the workhorse of the Chinese farm.

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## ASIAN SURVEY

### BURMA LOOKING FOR HIGHER STANDARDS

*From Our Rangoon Correspondent*

THE new Four Year Development Plan for Burma announced by the Prime Minister, U Nu, in June opened with the sort of agonising reappraisal which in the West has come to be associated with major blunders of international policy, but in the small countries of South-East Asia is still fortunately confined to domestic mistakes. While to call it "clearly an admission of defeat", as did *The Statesman* (Calcutta), is to belittle some very real achievements of the AFPFL Government, it must be admitted that the AFPFL has taken longer than it should have done to realise that in trying to advance Burma's industrialisation and social services before establishing law and order it was, in U Nu's words, "putting the cart before the ox". For this the Prime Minister took the greater part of the responsibility on himself, admitting that he had allowed "terrible mistakes" to be made.

The Plan proposes to remedy past errors by transposing the order of importance of Burma's chief problems. These are now grouped under three heads: (1) Law and Order, (2) National Economy, and (3) Social Services. Under Law and Order is to be considered not only the insurgent problem, which is still a greater hindrance to the country's development than the over-optimistic official view of it presented by the Government would indicate, but also the question of lawlessness among the civil population. The items under the heading therefore include, besides plans for increasing Army personnel and equipment, such other items as police administration, psychological warfare, law courts and jails, laws, citizenship and organisation, and frontier security. The last has become an urgent necessity in view of the ambiguous situation with respect to the Sino-Burmese frontier, which still remains undecided. At the time of writing, an incident is reported from Lweje in the Kachin State, in which Chinese Communist troops opened fire on a party of Burmese police who were carrying out a routine inspection.

Under National Economy the Premier envisaged drastic changes in policy when he said that, with the exception of certain key projects, industrial and mining enterprises should no longer be entrusted to those interested in drawing salaries, but opened up to those with "profit motives". One way of doing this would be to offer, instead of increased salaries, the incentive of investments in joint ventures by Government servants and industrial workers. The Government should not, he said, have a controlling interest in all sorts of economic projects, and State enterprises should no longer continue to "line the pockets of thieves and pilferers". In place of such enterprises it would be more practical to let the money be diverted towards consumer goods for the people. The time had come to cease nursing the cooperatives and to let them stand by virtue of their own utility.

A leading Rangoon newspaper hailed this as a change in policy which made the profit motive respectable; but it is

a change that has been dictated more by the gross failure in their duty of certain sections of officials than by a loss of faith in Socialist principles on the part of the Government. It has at last been realised that self-interest, if it cannot be restrained sufficiently to make Socialism possible at this stage, must be harnessed to the common good. In reality, Socialism in Burma is still at the theoretical level. Politicians pay lip service to it without having any of the spirit of Socialism, and the only truly Socialist cooperative efforts have been those, such as the building of the Makyetkyi reservoir, which the people themselves have carried out with the labour of their own hands. For the most part, officials and minor politicians talk largely of Socialism but conduct their affairs on capitalist principles, without the restraints that competitive capitalism imposes.

It is part of the Four Year Plan that from now onwards the Government will concentrate only on key economic projects, and the plan tentatively proposes that in the case of Joint Corporations the Government's share should be converted into loans advanced to the shareholders. In proposing this, U Nu said that after such conversions have been made, the Government should continue for some time to guide the operation of these corporations according to the arrangements now existing. Later, when it is proved beyond doubt that they are being run on sound business lines, with honesty and efficiency, it should be possible to allow the shareholders to operate the corporations freely, the object being to bring down the level of prices.

On the role of foreigners in Burma's economic life, the Prime Minister declared that there were many reasons for granting Europeans, Indians, Pakistanis and Chinese traders economic rights, and that the Plan would require the Economic Committee to draw up working plans to enable foreign businessmen in Burma to exercise their legitimate economic rights by investing their capital in the country's economic enterprises, both for their own and the country's benefit. In saying this U Nu showed himself aware that practical considerations were running counter to nationalistic sentiment when he added that if it were possible to do so he would be the first to exclude foreigners from the economic field. The fact is, however, that alongside this nationalistic sentiment there has been for a long time past a tendency for Burmese nationals to allow trade to go out of their hands by selling import licences obtained in their own names to foreign traders. The plea is usually that the foreigners have the capital the Burmese lack; but actually to sell an import license is a quicker and easier way of raising money than to import and sell the goods. This practice has been the cause of much trade passing out of Burmese control, and of considerable drainage of the country's finances.

The hoarding of "black money", with intent to evade taxation, has been another retarding influence. It has been responsible for the abnormal rising of prices, the underhand



trade in immovable properties, inflation in the gold and jewellery marts and the smuggling of gold and precious stones out of the country. Another evil consequence of hoarding in preference to banking or investing capital is the encouragement it has given to organised crime. It is possible for a small band of thieves, breaking into a private house, to make a haul of anything up to a lakh of kyats with the minimum of risk. The frequency of such crimes, often accompanied by violence, is an additional burden on the police.

In the Social Services section top priority is being given to improving water supplies in drought areas and to prevention of fire in congested quarters where the buildings are of bamboo and *dani*. These fires, which occur on a devastating scale in every dry season, have been the cause of untold hardship and heavy financial losses. Whether they are brought about by negligence or incendiarism, the only remedy is to provide better housing conditions, but despite the Government's self-confessed error of having placed social welfare before law and order this is one of the social needs that have never been met. A large section of the population of Rangoon has for years past been living in conditions that are those of a primitive village rather than of a capital city, with bamboo hutments each housing several families, an inadequate communal water supply and next to no sanitation. It says much for the innate cleanliness of the average Burman that so far there has not been a major epidemic, despite the piles of refuse left exposed in the streets by the failure of the local authorities to clear away household rubbish. For protection against fire the Government now propose to issue sheet-metal roofing, free to those who cannot afford to pay for it. As a remedy this is far from satisfactory; not only will it leave the palm-leaf walls still vulnerable to fire but the sun on the metal roofing in hot weather will make the houses virtually uninhabitable. It is a matter for comment that Burma, which proposes to set up a nuclear reactor in the near future, strives for modernisation before supplying the most essential needs of the people. This, to the unbiased observer, is one of the most curious features of the Government's policy. The Four Year Plan has taken as its slogan "first things first", but there is still a perceptible tendency to "build from the roof down".

Public Works Minister Thakin Tin Maung is to head a committee for the rehabilitation of Rangoon City, while the Prime Minister himself will preside over a committee to review the education policy. Other committees have been formed to report on Health, Communications, Posts and Telegraphs, Buildings and Mass Education, each under the chairmanship of the Minister concerned. The Finance Minister, Boh Khin Maung Gale, is faced with a heavy task in dealing with the question of commercial auditing, particularly in respect of accounts of Government Boards which, in U Nu's words, are in a state of chaos. The various committees, it is stressed, are to be formed on a broad basis, with as full a representation as possible from both the government servants and the public, and the Prime Minister has appealed to the people to submit their own suggestions on all the points covered by the plan. Already the press has given publicity to numerous constructive schemes submitted by private individuals, both those with and without specialised knowledge, but it is up to the Government itself to promote confidence that these will be given due consideration. At present there is some scepticism on this point, which will only be removed when the authorities give proof that

they are willing to adopt practical suggestions in a spirit they have not shown hitherto. In such matters as the scandalous inefficiency and dishonesty of postal workers and officials there have been many protests from the public in the past, but nothing effective has been done to improve the situation and as a result the people have fallen into a state of fatalistic indifference, convinced that the authorities concerned pay no attention whatever to public opinion. It will take some time, and considerable proof of a change of heart, to win full public cooperation along the lines that U Nu desires.

In announcing the Plan, the Prime Minister repeated the appeal he has often made before, that government servants and all those in authority should carry out their duties with honesty and efficiency. He deplored the low moral standards prevailing in the country, and this is indeed one of the most serious problems Burma has to face. As a writer in *The Guardian* (Rangoon) remarked: "No matter what new schemes may be introduced for the development of the Welfare State, no matter how thoughtfully they may be devised and zealously pursued, they cannot succeed unless there is a general improvement in the character of the people and the leaders. It cannot be too often repeated that laws alone will not make people good. The problem, therefore, is one of character more than anything else; it is really a psychological problem, and must be approached as such".

There is no doubt whatever that some of the schemes inaugurated by the Government in the past would have met with greater success, despite the defects in general policy the Prime Minister has admitted, if they had been carried out by honest and conscientious officials and workers. Some part of the blame for failures must be shared by all. Unfortunately there has been a tendency for the people to blame officialdom and officialdom to blame the people whenever anything has gone wrong. But if the Government is determined to show its own honesty of purpose and check some of the abuses by which the people have suffered in the past, there is hope that standards may be raised all round, with a better relationship between Government and people throughout the country.

## Thailand

### New Look on China

*From Our Special Correspondent in Bangkok*

National and international power politics got into a tangle in Thailand recently. Since the recent general elections (which were not the easy walk-over the Government had expected), Bangkok has been buzzing with rumours. Are the army and police going to clash or will the Government be changed in a bloodless coup? Why did the King fail to attend the Buddhist festivities? These and many other questions are being asked by a public that is beginning to take an interest in government affairs. Thailand is ruled under a benevolent dictatorship in which the power rests neatly between the Army and Police, with Field Marshal Pibul shrewdly shifting the balance between these two forces so as to remain in the saddle, himself as Prime Minister. But in the last few years more power

than might be healthy has gone to the Army which has been at the receiving end of large US military aid programmes. Moreover, during the state of emergency that followed the last elections, Army chief Field Marshal Sarit built up among the public the reputation of a popular leader. And, rather surprisingly, Sarit seems also to be accepted by the Siamese aristocracy, which has money but no political power. On the other hand, Pibul's star has waned still further, though nobody doubts his adroitness. Under Pibul, Thailand has become the bastion of American policy in South-East Asia. Domestic opposition to this policy should not be overrated. But Thai internal politics, being fought on personal and not political issues, are too intricate to lend themselves to public explanation. It is mainly for this reason that the present political debate in Thailand centres to a large extent on foreign issues. And it is here where developments in Thailand in the next few weeks may turn out to be of great importance for the outside world.

Foreign politics in Thailand, as seen by the Thais, is the preservation of Thai independence, and in this connection nothing looms as large as the question of China. Thailand has some three million Chinese and though it has no direct borders with China, the big neighbour is not far away. The Chinese in Thailand, thanks to their own thrift, are doing quite well. But there has been discrimination against them that will not easily be forgotten by the large majority of Thai Chinese who now sit on the fence. The Thais, seeing that China is getting stronger and with the constant threat of the agile Chinese minority within their own borders, have put out a few feelers. This is not surprising, for the Thai owe a good deal of their independence to a patriotism that traditionally sides with the winning battalions. A group of Thai artists has just visited China. This was done without Government permission, but among the group was a Police colonel who also happened to be a relative of the Prime Minister. Mrs. Pridi, wife of the former Prime Minister, has been in Bangkok for a few weeks to secure permission for the Thai elder statesman to be allowed to return, ostensibly to retire in a monastery.

Will Thailand continue to cold-shoulder Communist China, or will she establish normal diplomatic and commercial relations? Under the present Government this would be impossible, for the Field Marshal has been too closely associated with the US to be able to perform such a turnabout without losing face. He might have done it in his earlier years, but he has grown respectable and perhaps also a little tired. But another Government might take a hand. After all, Pakistan has recognized China and remained in SEATO. Britain has recognized China long ago and the significance of the British example in eliminating the special trade embargo against China has been grasped. As have the anti-American outbursts in Taipei and Tokyo. Thailand has all the reasons in the world to be grateful to the American Government for substantial aid. But there are now some three thousand Americans in Thailand, mainly in Bangkok, and there have been incidents, imaginary and real, which would not have come to the attention of the public a year ago, but now are magnified and used for anti-American publicity by a largely hostile Thai press. And it has not escaped attention that anti-American criticism has also emanated from Government journals. The Thais are realists if anything, and they have noticed that neighbouring Cambodia and Laos

receive larger shares of American aid per head of the population, despite or perhaps just because of their policy of neutralism. And the same goes for Pakistan.

So if it is impossible for a government under Pibul to recognize China, why not change the head of the government? Army chief Sarit could take over the premiership, for the Army is today much stronger than the Police. But the balance of power system in internal Thai politics has worked well in the past and there are many good reasons why it should continue. The Army and Police and perhaps also some of the opposition leaders could agree on a figure-head Premier. Prince Wan's name has been mentioned as a likely successor. The Prince has a wide international reputation, no power and little prestige at home, and he would be a willing tool in the hands of those who wield the real power in the land. He could be trusted to negotiate with utmost skill the switch towards recognition of China. And Thailand would remain in SEATO, after all; just like Pakistan. American aid would continue to flow and Thailand, now trading with China via Hong Kong, would not only buy Chinese goods, but also sell her rice to rice-starved and rice-rationed China. No doubt, despite denials, the Thais are weighing their chances and soon things may be happening in this happy and placid country with its content and ever-smiling population. Or should appearances deceive?

## Japan

### Japanese Travellers

*From Stuart Griffin*

(EASTERN WORLD Tokyo Correspondent)

All Japanese like to travel. A huge domestic tourist industry is built on that inveterate habit. Industrialists and businessmen are on permanent "inspection" trips, as their junkets are called by the press. Politicians have, of course, to conform with the general trend. Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers rank first. They travel either on "goodwill missions" (whatever that may be), or in order to acquaint themselves with "local conditions." Foreign Ministers' travel have become the nightmare of all professional diplomats. Understandably, for they mean a considerable lot of additional work and arrangements ad hoc and are in a way a sign of lack of confidence towards the man on the spot and his capacities. And if one adds the substantial number of inspectors, technical experts and other lesser fry to the ambulatorium of foreign policy making, one may have reason to regret the decay of professional diplomacy on grounds of traditionalism. But the fact remains that travelling diplomacy has become a feature of modern times. History will decide whether "static" or "mobile" diplomats have been more successful. Anyway, Japanese diplomats and politicians indulge freely into the new-style "mobile" diplomacy.

Mr. Kishi has by now become a seasoned traveller. Three months after he had become Prime Minister, in March last, he set out for an ambitious tour of Taiwan, Burma, Thailand, Ceylon, India and Pakistan as a first step to materialize what the Gaimusho (Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs) called "Positive Asian Diplomacy." This trip was obviously a preparation for Mr. Kishi's visit to

Washington, though it might be easier for him to convince the United States of Japan's needs and to obtain their continued cooperation, than this task may be in South-East Asia. Mr. Kishi has declared himself prepared to join the general protest against nuclear tests and to sign, together with Mr. Nehru and U Nu, a denunciation of all these tests. However, neither of the latter is liable to forget that Mr. Kishi obtained his first laurels as an efficient coloniser in Manchukuo, and that he served as Minister of Trade and Industry in General Tojo's War Cabinet. Mr. Kishi is well aware of the perils of his tourings. "We must try to convince the countries in South-East Asia that the new Japan is not the old militaristic Japan." Previous governments in Japan have done considerable spade work in dispersing the apprehensions of their neighbours—the reparations agreements with Burma, Thailand and the Philippines were most remarkable stations on this road—but much remains to be done. The gap between Japan, whose annual income per capita is three times that of India and the highest in Asia, and her neighbours is too obvious as not to give reason for neighbourly suspicions. The insistence of Mr. Kishi on Japan's preparedness for cooperation in Asia by combining, as he said, "American capital, Japanese technology and local resources" was apt to present him to Mr. Nehru as a not altogether welcome competitor in his leadership of Asia. As a matter of fact, capital is the crucial point in Japan's programme. Japan has little capital to export and most of her own industries are suffering from under-capitalisation. Bank indebtedness runs high, and the credits offered by Japan to foreign countries are rather expensive. Therefore, new markets for her growing and competitive industries are Japan's main concern and target in every move her diplomats make.

A few weeks ago, before Mr. Kishi and his entourage set out on his South-East Asian tour, another group of Japanese politicians returned from a visit to China. Under the leadership of Mr. Injiro Asanuma, Secretary General of the Japanese Socialist Party, ten members of the socialist party and the parliamentary opposition had felt it necessary to show their voters that the party conforms with the voters' sympathies for Mainland China. Many industrialists, not less eager to trade with China than Great Britain, welcomed the trip. The Socialists intended their tour to become a major step on their road to deprive the Liberal-Democrats of their initiative in the field of foreign policy, and called their visit an action countering Mr. Kishi's trip to Washington. Since 1952 the Socialists in Japan have endeavoured to counter-balance Washington's influence in Tokyo by wooing Peking. Mozaburo Suzuki talked five years ago of a collective security agreement between Washington, Moscow, Peking and Tokyo. Since then, there have been a number of junkets from Tokyo to Peking, not only by politicians, but also by exporters and manufacturers. On the economic side, these trips have been successful to a certain extent. Japanese exports to China are on the increase. However, the much heralded latest trip of the Socialist party seems to have been more useful to Chinese propaganda requirements than to the practical needs of Japan and her Socialist Party. China promised to release six Japanese prisoners of war convicted as war criminals. Fishing committees will be exchanged. Another unofficial trade agreement may be signed. But here already, difficulties are liable to appear. China wants to open Trade Agencies in Japan and required diplomatic immunity for the employees of these agencies. This would be, of course, a circumvention

of the Japanese law of Immigration, since there are no diplomatic relations between China and Japan. Mr. Kishi reacted firmly and promptly. Japan will not enter into diplomatic relations with China as long as China does not become a member of the United Nations. The China policy of the present Japanese government is subject to Japan's obligations of loyalty towards the United Nations.

However, an interesting change of China's attitude towards Japan was noticeable. According to reports, China offered a revision of the Chinese-Russian Treaty of Amity and the elimination of those of its part which are directed against Japan, on condition that the American-Japan Treaty would be revised similarly. This change is remarkable in so far as during the visit of Khrushchev and Bulganin to Peking a peace treaty between Japan and China seemed only to be possible after the Japanese renunciation of her treaty with the United States. This condition has now been waived by China. On the contrary, they have been stressing, during the Japanese Socialists' visit, the importance of a collective security agreement between China and Japan, including the Soviet Union and the United States. Ironically enough, just this suggestion has confused the Japanese Socialists, or at least, their left wingers who, for years, have violently objected any attempt at Japanese rearmament. Japan's accession to a security agreement as suggested now by China would imply automatically Japan's rearming so as to be able to meet her obligations under the agreement, in case one of the partners should require armed help.

Present Japan's defence forces number about 150,000 Army, 20,000 Navy and 15,000 Air Force. They have been set up against the bitter resistance of the Socialists. Their fight against rearmament has, indeed, been one of their major campaign weapons. But the new Chinese offer will necessitate some soul-searching with the Socialist left-wingers. Mr. Asanuma has refrained from commenting in public on the Chinese suggestions. On his return to Tokyo, he was at pains to stress the private character of the delegation's visit.

Barring dramatic events, some more travelling will have to be done in the Far East and in South-East Asia until Japan's vision of a new prosperity zone will be achieved.

## United States

### Mr. Kishi's Visit

*From David C. Williams*

(EASTERN WORLD Washington Correspondent)

The score in the golf match the Japanese Prime Minister, Nobusuke Kishi, played with President Eisenhower at the latter's favourite course, the Burning Tree Country Club near Washington, has yet to be revealed. But it already seems clear that his has been the most successful visit to Washington of any post-war Japanese leader.

There were a few echoes of the intense antagonisms of wartime, a few bitter references to the sufferings of American prisoners in Japanese camps. These, however, were few and far between. Besides, a growing number of Americans repent what is now seen as one of the most arbitrary and indefensible actions taken in this country during World War II—the forceful removal of Japanese from their homes all along the Pacific Coast to camps far in the interior, an action taken as an aftermath of the panic which followed Pearl Harbour.



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Most of these evacuated Japanese have returned to their old homes on the Pacific Coast. Some effort was made by a bigoted minority to resist their return, but it gained no significant public support. A considerable number of the war-time evacuees settled in the East, and (together with the Japanese brides whom many American servicemen bring home with them) have been well received in communities where Japanese never lived in significant numbers before. A few years ago Japanese-born Japanese (as opposed to the "nisei," or American born, Japanese, who have always been citizens) won their right to American citizenship.

Kishi's visit came as the Girard case (the case of an American soldier charged with the death of a Japanese woman on an American army firing range in Japan) was arousing strong emotions on both sides. But the strenuous resistance to Girard's trial by a Japanese court has so far been carried on with remarkably little in the way of an anti-Japanese overtone. Some Americans simply believe that Girard was on duty at the time of the shooting, and therefore should be tried by an American court martial. With others, it is simply a part of the campaign that ultra-nationalists here have been carrying on against the trial of American servicemen by local courts anywhere in the world. And responsible commentators have repeatedly emphasised that Girard would receive a fair trial in a Japanese court and, if convicted, would be likely to receive a lighter sentence than he would from a court martial.

Such anti-Japanese antagonism as there is seems rather to hark back to the pre-war resistance against the import of cheap Japanese goods. Particularly in the South, where the textile industry is a major factor in the region's economy, local laws have been enacted requiring shops selling Japanese goods to carry notices to that effect. The State Department maintains that this is in violation of treaty obligations, and is seeking to have these laws invalidated.

Premier Kishi did not, of course, succeed in modifying the adamant stand of the American Government on the Okinawa issue—although some American organisations have publicly urged the replacement of military by civilian government there. Nor did he secure public American approval of the "Kishi Doctrine" aiming at the joint development of South-East Asia. He did, however, win recognition of Japan's interest in expanding trade with Communist China, within the limits imposed by international controls on the shipment of strategic materials. The administration also proved sympathetic toward the necessity of Japan's increasing its overseas trade in other directions. And his visit was followed by

a further stage toward full independence for Japan—the announcement of the coming withdrawal of American ground forces.

A responsible Japanese official has summed up the results of the visit in the following words: "I think that in the past the Japanese people had an impression they were cast in the role of an inferior partner in the Japan-United States association. . . . We are therefore satisfied with the outcome of the discussions, which have laid the groundwork for establishing and consolidating cooperation on a more satisfactory basis."

Observers here in Washington note two fundamental facts concerning the future trend of Japanese policy—first, that close and cordial relations with America will continue to characterise the nation's international relations, and second that Japan will from now on chart its own course as a fully equal and sovereign power in the Japanese-American alliance and in the world generally.

Grave problems face Japan—notably, as seen here, the remorseless growth of its population and the sharply limited base of land and other natural resources to support it. It is for this reason that many American students of Japan think that its future must lie in closer economic cooperation with the rest of Asia, exporting skill in return for food and raw materials. Whether Japan can realise this opportunity depends upon the extent to which Premier Kishi can overcome the suspicions of his country's intentions which still remain strong in view of its history of economic and military aggression.

## Australia

### East is North

*From Charles Meeking*

(EASTERN WORLD Canberra Correspondent)

More Australians than formerly are thinking of Asia, and especially of those portions of Asia north and north-west of the Australian continent. At the moment the emphasis is on trade, and especially on trade with Japan and with the mainland of China, but there are many other problems associated with the meagre population of northern or tropical Australia and with the ebb and flow of political and national policies in Asian countries.

The trade pact with Japan was not welcomed in Australia with unalloyed joy. The Australian Government stressed the safeguards which had been included to protect most Australian industries, but manufacturers remained as alarmed about the prospects as many Australian dairy and wheat farmers were about Britain's participation in the European Common Market. They were predicting a flow of cheap Japanese goods which would put many Australian industries out of action, ignoring the fact that many of these industries had become established only because of the shelter of import restrictions on top of tariff protection, and unimpressed by the argument that British exporters to Australia were likely to be the real sufferers in the matter.

While deploring the Japanese pact, however, (one commentator described it as "Australia's yen for yen"), the manufacturing interests were imploring the Government to follow the British lead in relaxing the restrictions on trade with China. They were not deterred by suggestions that the

market there would not be large, and that it would be highly competitive, with Britain, Japan and eastern Europe all seeking present and prospective buyers in that country of awakening industrialisation. Practically all the newspapers were supporting them, and many were also advocating diplomatic recognition of Peking, in spite of the reluctance of the Prime Minister, Mr. Menzies, and the Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Casey.

There was a link, but not a defined one, between these discussions and the talks in London and Washington which followed the Prime Ministers' conference on the modernisation of SEATO defences. The strengthening of trade ties with Asia might or might not lead to permanently friendly relations with Asian countries, but Australia at least was still feeling uneasy. Russian submarines in the Pacific, China's uncertain intentions concerning Formosa and also the militarily weak nations of South-East Asia (including the new Commonwealth member, Malaya), and even the Netherlands-Indonesian dispute over West Irian all combined to cause concern in Canberra about defence policies and available weapons.

There was also the nagging worry about the Russian bases in the Antarctic, which had been revived by the Soviet

bid to allow them to remain for an additional year after the closing of the International Geophysical Year. This may have had something to do with the ready Australian agreement that US civil planes should be permitted to fly from Australia to the Americas via the Antarctic (as well as from Sydney, via Darwin, to Thailand and the Philippines), provided Australian Qantas planes were allowed transit rights across the US to the Atlantic run and Britain.

The spokesman for the Labour Party professed alarm at the situation to the northward. He was the deputy leader of the Opposition, Mr. A. A. Calwell, who was acting leader while Dr. H. V. Evatt was in Britain and Israel. Mr. Calwell visited Darwin (his political opponents suggested that he was keeping out of the way while the party continued its internecine warfare), and there described the Australian defences as "pathetically small." He pointed to the meagre air, naval and army forces in the area, and ridiculed a statement by the Minister for Air that aircraft could come from the south of Australia in a few hours to defend the north. "One of several potential enemies have equal mobility," Mr. Calwell said, pointing out that Darwin was nearer to Singapore than it was to Sydney. "What happens if their planes arrive half an hour before ours?"

#### SINO-BRITISH TRADE COMMITTEE

Sir.—In the article on page 39 of your July issue headed "More Trade with China", it is implied that the British Authorities have not shown sufficient interest in the possibility of the Chinese opening a trade office in London. In fact, nothing could be further from the truth.

For some considerable time now the Sino-British Trade Committee, with the approval of H.M. Government, has lost no opportunity of emphasising to the Chinese that it would give them every assistance in opening such an office whenever desired. The Committee, as you know, comprises the Association of British Chambers of Commerce, the China Association, the Federation of British Industries, the London Chamber of Commerce and the National Union of Manufacturers. It therefore represents British industry and commerce in the widest sense and it is a travesty of the facts to suggest that insufficient interest has been shown concerning the project in question. It would, on the contrary, appear that the Chinese have not yet decided on the form which a London trade office could best take. The recent relaxation in the Chinese trade embargo may well have an important influence in this connection and the Chinese have certainly been left in no doubt that they can count upon the Sino-British Trade Committee for any help they may need in deciding upon the form of any trade office they may consider it expedient to set up.

Yours etc.,

R. D. F. MARLOW  
Co-ordinating Secretary  
Sino-British Trade Committee  
The London Chamber of Commerce

## Letters to the Editor

#### PRaise AND CRITICISM

Sir.—I should like to congratulate you on both your June and July issues. In the June issue, I was particularly glad to see the articles about Indonesia. They confirm earlier impressions I have had, from other sources, that to judge political developments there by western yardsticks, especially where the word "communist" is concerned, is very misleading. What above all we need, I think, to recognise today, is that Asia is finding her own foundations for "free democracy" and that you have to know how to look well under the surface before concluding whether in any particular country that development is in fact taking place—or taking root. Many western correspondents, even among those who have "good-will", do not get below the surface.

Similarly, I must congratulate you on your leading article in July, on Nehru and the West. The campaign carried on against him in this country seems to me extremely sinister. I am afraid so many different important elements are involved in it, and support each other in taking this line, that it is difficult to disentangle them and to pin them down. I hope you will continue your efforts to warn the British people against the folly of perpetually baiting Nehru.

I find myself critical of one or two articles, as I suppose every reader must be, in particular the note on "Cooperative Farming in India". This seems to be based on the very fallacy of seeing Asia in terms of the West which is so disastrous when applied politically. If it is agreed that the main aim should be to increase productivity of the land, then I should have supposed that in Indian

conditions, a large number of small farms, where each farmer has the incentive to produce the maximum possible on his own land, coupled with cooperative services (which is not what I understand by cooperative farming) is the immediate answer. Clearly, the growth of population is one of the chief difficulties here; but as long as the present population in the Indian countryside has still to be supported from the land, large-scale farming and mechanisation are likely to be quite disastrous, unless the idea is the ruthless one of decreasing the population by starving millions of landless peasants. I have myself seen plenty of evidence in recent years that the cultivators will gladly use better seed, better implements, more water for irrigation, more and better fertiliser, etc. if they see that they and their families will be beneficiaries. Whatever may be economically desirable fifty years hence, it seems to me that these are the lines of progress for the present, and that the Community Projects of India are probably achieving far more for man's "basic industry" than anything yet achieved in either Russia or China. Communism, it seems to me, still has not understood the problems of land and production, but India appears to be finding the right way, both to the heart and mind of the peasant, and thereby to the best use of the soil.

Well, this is just by way of saying "thank you" for your excellent work in the EASTERN WORLD. I trust you will continue to influence western people to have sane views about Asia.

Swanage,  
Dorset.

Yours etc.,

HORACE ALEXANDER

# FROM ALL QUARTERS

## Unesco plans for East-West understanding

Plans for carrying out a major project of Unesco to increase understanding between Orient and Occident have been finalized by Unesco's Executive Board, meeting in Paris. The project is to run for ten years, and plans now approved cover activities to be undertaken in 1957-1958 for which a budget of \$839,209 has been allocated. These plans lay stress on the importance of individual contacts—the bringing together of writers, scholars, educators, historians, etc. of the two regions by round table discussions, travel grants, exchange visits and missions. Such personal contacts would be supplemented by the widest interchange of cultural and educational materials—reference works, translations, exhibitions, works of art, etc.

For schools the aim is to arouse the interest of educators in the project and to promote Occident-Orient understanding through textbooks, teaching aids, improvement of curricula, and teacher training. A meeting of experts is to be held in Asia in 1958 on educational problems in the development of understanding of the West in Asian schools.

To reach the general public, the cooperation of adult education organisations and youth movements will be sought. At the same time, the media of mass communication will be used to increase the interchange of knowledge and ideas. In particular, the production of more films depicting the day-to-day life of the peoples of the two regions would be encouraged.

## Spinning wheel for Mr. Nehru

When Mr. Nehru visited Norway recently, the Norwegian Prime Minister presented him with an old spinning wheel from the district of Telemark, which Mr. Nehru said he very much appreciated. During the war of independence the spinning wheel became a symbol for the Indian people, and a spinning wheel is now incorporated in the Indian flag.

## Asian women's role in public life

The participation of Asian women in public life will be discussed by representatives of more than 20 nations in Asia and the Far East at a seminar to be held in Bangkok, Thailand, from August 5 to 17. Two of the main papers to be presented at the seminar will be on the civic rights and responsibilities of Asian women, and on their participation in government at all levels. Religious and social attitudes will also be discussed, and representatives will report on the activities of women's organisations in the different countries. The seminar forms part of the UN's programme of advisory services on human rights (Unesco).

## School growth in Indonesia

The number of schools and pupils in Indonesia is fast increasing as a result of the tremendous effort in education, reports a Norwegian specialist on his return from a Unesco mission to that country. Dr. Asbjorn Overås, assigned in July 1956 to work with the Indonesian Ministry of Education in the expansion of secondary schooling, pointed out in an interview in Paris that there are now 400,000 pupils in Indonesia's junior high schools compared with about 20,000 in 1950. Senior high schools, of which there are now 546, are

increasing their enrolments at the rate of about 10,000 pupils a year, he said.

The immensity of the secondary and primary education task which Indonesia is tackling, is indicated, he noted, by the fact that the country has about 13 million children of primary school age—6 to 12 years—but only about 60 per cent of them have as yet the opportunity to attend school. Two principal problems are important, both now and for the future, he said. These are: the acute need for training many teachers for the ever-increasing number of schools; and the need for equipment and material, particularly for instruction in modern science.

## Warship for Pakistan

HMS Diadem, the Dido Class cruiser which has been sold to Pakistan under an agreement concluded in 1956, was transferred to Pakistan at a ceremony at Portsmouth Dockyard last month. The Diadem is the fourth ship of her name. She was built by Messrs. Hawthorn Leslie at Hebburn-on-Tyne and commissioned in the Royal Navy in December, 1943. In World War II she took part in D-Day operations off the coast of Normandy, operations off Norway and in escorting convoys to North Russia.

The ship was transferred on behalf of the British Government by the First Lord of the Admiralty (the Earl of Selkirk) to His Excellency the High Commissioner for Pakistan (Mr. Mohammed Ikramullah) who received the ship on behalf of the Pakistan Government. The ship was renamed PNS Babur by the Begum Rafia Choudri, wife of the Commander-in-Chief Pakistan Navy (Rear Admiral H. M. Siddiq Choudri, MBE) who was present.

## Ind-Nepal road

The Tribhuvan rajpath, 79-mile road link between India and Nepal, which was built by India, was formally handed over to Nepal on June 30.

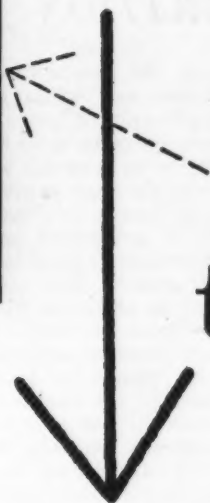
## Senate study on Far East arms

A staff study published last month by the US Senate Foreign Relations sub-committee on Disarmament embodied the conclusion that southern and eastern Asia should be included in planning for arms control and conducting disarmament negotiations.

The study said: "The fact that many of the open hostilities since the end of the Second World War have taken place in southern and eastern Asia emphasises the need to make every effort to curtail the possibility of further warfare. Already, as a result of the agreements which brought the various hostilities to an end the region has furnished a substantial part of the limited experience which the world has had in the control of armaments. In addition, many nations of Asia have expressed strong sentiments against the armaments race of the big Powers and they are anxious to use peaceful means to resolve international differences."

It was noted that tensions in the region will persist until solutions are found for problems created by the three divided States of Korea, Viet Nam and China, and that since Communist China has the largest military force in Asia, any comprehensive system of control and reduction of armaments in Asia would have to include China.





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## Recent Books

### INDIAN INTEGRATION

**The Story of the Integration of the Indian States**  
by V. P. MENON (*Longmans, 45s.*)

India's social and spiritual unity dates from antiquity, but it is only since the establishment of the Republic of India in 1950 that there has also been political, economic and administrative consolidation. This fulfilment of national aspirations was carried through swiftly, when India became independent, under the leadership of Gandhi, Nehru and Patel. Mr. V. P. Menon (not to be confused with the better known V. K. Krishna Menon, of United Nations fame) records in an important-looking book of nearly 500 pages the constitutional aspects of the process of integration. However, by devoting himself to an excessive examination of the often minor details of the negotiations with the princes, he has almost—though not wholly—missed seeing the great woods of historical movement and justification.

With the transfer of power from Britain in August 1947 to India and Pakistan, there was also a "lapse of paramountcy" over the 554 princely States within the present frontiers of India. Britain had announced that all these would become independent. Giving chapter and verse, the author shows that right up to the last moment of its

authority, the Labour Government in London and, under its direction, the Political Department in Delhi, encouraged the States against accession to the Dominion of India. Lord Mountbatten, on the other hand, then Viceroy and Governor-General, in spite of his own aristocratic background, unexpectedly did much to influence the princes' accession,—the first stage leading to ultimate integration.

For a period both before and after the proclamation of independence, Indians had cause to fear the Balkanisation of their country. Their greatest nightmare, more even than partition, the communal frenzy, and the millions of refugees, was the dread that India might be splintered into hundreds of minor statelets incapable of resisting the tossing crosswinds of great-power politics. Yet within six months of independence and without a shot fired, the 554 States had integrated into one great Indian nation. The author quotes Nehru himself confessing in September 1948:

Even I who had been rather intimately connected with the States People's movement for many years, if I had been asked six months ago what the course of developments would be in the next six months since then, I would have hesitated to say that such rapid changes could take place.

In telling this exciting story Mr. Menon stresses the fact that the princes were never really opposed to integration, as had been expected by those who did not want a strong India, and feared by those who did. The vast majority of Rajas and Maharajas proved themselves as good Indians as any. Since the first world war many of them had sought ways and means to unify India. The great divergencies in the status and rights of the rulers, and the wide differences in the political and economic level reached in their domains presented formidable obstacles. Only a national government of India commanding the allegiance of the entire people, alike in the former British India and in the princely States, could expect the surrender of princely privileges.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was the minister chiefly instrumental in performing this prodigy of consolidation. The unification of India did much to assuage the bitterness

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### TRADE WITH CHINA

A Practical Guide to foreign businessmen interested in China Trade, contains, amongst others, details on China's requirements and export goods, as well as customs rules and other regulations.

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Richard Law, 81, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.1.



of partition, which might have poisoned Indian politics for years to come, and it made considerable amends for those politicians, including Patel himself, Nehru and other Congress leaders who, against Gandhi's advice, accepted partition. Through it, India lost 364,737 square miles of territory and 81.5 millions of people, but integration of the States brought in 500,000 square miles of territory and 86.5 million people, — not counting Kashmir, which in 1948 was still an active field of contention. Generally speaking, the integration, in Sardar Patel's own words, was a consummation of the great ideal of geographical, political and economic unification of India, an ideal which for centuries remained a distant dream.

In settling the privy purses, privileges and private properties to be retained by the former rulers, the Government of India showed a good deal of generosity. In the opinion of the author, who as Secretary of the States Ministry took part in many of the negotiations, this became "a sort of *quid pro quo* for the surrender by them of all their ruling powers and for the dissolution of their States". The rulers, too, negotiated in a spirit of accommodation, and there has not been a single case of dispute in all the 554 settlements.

The book bears the hallmark of the civil servant experienced in writing reports, and narrates in quiet, factual terms an important development of post-war India. But so pre-occupied is the author with his own routine activities that he somewhat reduces the magnitude and interest of the events themselves. By calling the book a "story" rather than a history, he is, at least, unpretentious, but modestly fails to atone for a disappointingly inadequate treatment of events that, seen in the light of India's subsequent development, have profoundly influenced the course of history.

The whole history of Indian integration, in the context of social, political and international forces, has yet to be written. The dynamic of the people's will pushing both the

Congress Government and the princes towards an early integration would make a dramatic, exciting tale.

Only once in the whole length of the book does the author touch on this vital issue. Relating an occasion in his own negotiations when he had to impress upon a group of rulers the urgency of the situation, he used surprisingly blunt language:

... the princes had been shielded, so to say, from the political aspirations and ambitions of their people. They were now brought face to face for the first time with their people, and many of them were not prepared for a change. It has also to be remembered that the new Government which has taken over at the Centre is a people's Government and one could expect the Government of India to have a predisposition in favour of the people's rights, just as under the old system the paramount power might have had a bias in favour of the rights of the ruler when they conflicted with the interests of the people. The present Government are the champions of the people's rights. . . .

I may frankly confess that, although we were in touch with the currents of opinion in the States, the march of events took us by surprise. . . . We then felt that unless we had a deliberate policy, not only would the future of the States and their rulers be in danger but law and order would break down. . . .

... there is no escape from one fundamental proposition, and that is, that all the States have to follow a uniform policy. If one ruler grants responsible government others would be compelled to follow suit. . . . The grant of complete responsible government, I can assure you, is quite inescapable in all the States. . . . The extinction of the separate existence of the States may not be palatable, but unless something is done in good time to stabilise the situation . . . the march of events may bring still more unpalatable results.

The passage hints at many developments never fully explored. The whole history of the integration, in the documentation of which this book will surely have its place, still awaits its telling.

K. P. GHOSH

*Asian Annual* compiled by E. M. BIRD (*Eastern World*, 15s.)

*Asian Annual* is published each year in July and the current edition again contains much general and statistical information which is bound to be of vital interest to those seeking data on Asia. Apart from the individual chapters on each of the Asian countries (including the Pacific Islands) there are features such as "Aid to Asia" and a section on non-Asian countries giving trade figures and diplomatic representation.

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A specimen copy of the "Review" and a catalogue of International Labour Office publications will be forwarded on application to the International Labour Office, Geneva, or to the London Branch Office of the I.L.O., 38-39 Parliament Street, London, S.W.1.

Annual Subscription: 36s.

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(Published in English, French and Spanish editions)

## Gandhi as a Political Thinker by B. S. SHARMA (*Indian Press, Allahabad, Rs.5*)

Almost inevitably, in reading this latest book on Gandhi I am reminded of the 19th century nationalist who said he had dissected human bodies and failed to find any souls. In all these efforts to tidy up Gandhi's thought and pigeon-hole his ideas the essential quality of the man is missing.

This is not a personal criticism of Mr. Sharma. In his effort to present a neat and consistent Gandhi he has done much better than most writers. But Gandhi never set out to be a philosopher and his ideas — which developed over the years by a process of experiment — cannot be treated as a static entity. Mr. Sharma, having himself admitted these vital facts, seems to forget them very often in his efforts to work out a "system" from words and actions often widely separated by time and experience. It is true, as the author says, that there was a coherence about Gandhi's thought; but surely it was the coherence of *approach*. Gandhi once flattened me by claiming that we were united—at a time when superficially this was not the case — as genuine seekers after truth. While I could not feel that I deserved to be classed with the Great Experimenter, even at that level, it was the basis of Gandhi's own unity with himself over the years. He was consistently a seeker.

And yet, even such a statement leaves too much unsaid and unsayable. Half the trouble about "Gandhi-Wallahs" is that they tend to reduce their model to a set of rules. But even one single rule was not Gandhi. He was a personality; and you can read through even the best of books on "Gandhism" (of which Mr. Sharma's is surely one) and fail to find what it was that made Gandhi "tick" and made his way with people so much more than a "technique." Probably Mr. Sharma would agree.

REGINALD REYNOLDS

## Diversions of a Diplomat in Ceylon by PHILIP 'K. CROWE, with a foreword by Viscount Soulbury (*Macmillan, 30s.*)

"Diversions" is clearly the operative word in the title of this delightful book. For although its author was recently the United States Ambassador to Ceylon his book has little to say about his professional experiences in that island and is concerned above all with his private trips into the interior and along the coast as a hunter, fisherman and amateur explorer.

Mr. Crowe has a fine eye for country and a genuine interest in the customs, traditions and history of the people

whom he encountered during the course of his travels. Moreover he has the power to communicate both his own enthusiasm and a real sense of the excitement of the chase, so that his book makes fascinating reading from start to finish. Particularly interesting are the descriptions of his visits to such out of the way places as the islands of the Palk Straits and the Maldive archipelago — which lies some four hundred miles to the south-west of Ceylon. Certainly the account of the Maldives' brief but disastrous experiment in republican rule under Amin Didi makes instructive reading and comes refreshingly from an American pen.

Altogether a most attractive book and worthy of a place on every bedside table.

CHARLES FISHER

**The Timor Problem** by F. J. ORMELING (*Groningen and The Hague, J. B. Wolters and Martinus Nijhoff, Second Impression, 1957. No price*)

The small and relatively remote island of Timor is only a fragment of the great Indonesian archipelago and both geographically and historically can scarcely be regarded as typical of that region as a whole. Nevertheless its problems of mounting population pressure, soil erosion and increasingly serious malnutrition are all too familiar and it is with these that the present volume is concerned. The author, Dr. F. J. Ormeling, was a former Head of the Geographical Institute of Djakarta and his book provides an excellent analysis both of the underlying causes of the present parlous situation and also of the lines along which solutions should be sought. The book is well illustrated and well translated, and should be of interest to the layman as well as to the specialist.

F.L.

**The Anti-Stalin Campaign and International Communism:** A Selection of Documents edited by the Russian Institute, Columbia University (*Columbia University Press, New York, and Oxford University Press in Great Britain, Canada, India and Pakistan: distributed with the aid of a grant from the Ford Foundation*)

The Russian leader Khrushchev's secret speech to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in February 1956, attacking certain aspects of Stalin's rule, is now accepted by the rest of the world as the beginning of the "de-Stalinisation" process. In June 1956 the State Department of the United States released a version of the speech obtained through its intelligence sources. Within two months, the Communist Parties of the US, Italy, France and Britain, accepting the American document as substantially correct, had each made their responses. It is these pronouncements from the Soviet and other Communist Parties that make up the present volume.

It is true that the authenticity of the Khrushchev speech has never been confirmed by any Russian source. Mr. Khrushchev himself, in an interview on May 10 with the *New York Times* even described the American publication as a "fabrication" of "the Allen Dulles publishing house". This did not stop the other Communist Parties from making their comments and thus by implication giving it their imprimatur. Though this publication by an American university may well have been envisaged as another move in the cold war, it has done a service to serious students of affairs in presenting this material in such convenient form.

P.W.

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## INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL NOTES

### CHINA'S INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Po I-po, China's Vice-Premier, stated at the recent session of the National People's Congress that the targets fixed for the first 5-Year Plan will be overfulfilled in 1957—the last year of the Plan. He declared that priority in industrial development for 1957 was for the production of capital goods to ensure growth in construction. Production targets for major capital goods in 1957 were listed by Po I-po as follows:

**Electric power:** 18,860 million kilowatt-hours, 13.7% above 1956;  
**Coal:** 117,270,000 tons, 10.7% above 1956;  
**Crude petroleum:** 1,500,000 tons, 29% above 1956;  
**Pig iron:** 5,554,000 tons, 16.3% above 1956;  
**Steel:** 4,987,000 tons, 11.7% above 1956.  
**Steel products:** 4,478,000 tons, 17% above 1956;  
**Caustic soda:** 178,000 tons, 13.8% above 1956;  
**Ammonium sulphate:** 499,000 tons, 11.8% above 1956;  
**Cement:** 6,807,000 tons, 6.5% above 1956;  
**Boilers:** 419,700 ton-hours (steam output) 33% more than 1956;  
**Steam turbines:** 143,500 kilowatts, 19.1% above 1956;  
**Electric generators:** 284,000 kilowatts, 98.9% above 1956;  
**Electric motors:** 1,251,000 kilowatts, 17.7% above 1956;  
**Transformers:** 3,598,000 kilovolt-amperes, 26.4% above 1956;  
**Metal-cutting machines:** 22,640 in number, 2.7% above 1956;  
**Heavy duty lorries:** 7,000 in number 324.8% above 1956;  
**Timber:** 25,060,000 cubic metres, 21.9% above 1956.  
 Output of some main consumer goods in 1957 would amount to:  
**Cotton yarn:** 4,635,000 bales, 88.3% of 1956;  
**Cotton cloth:** 5,000 million metres, 85.3% of 1956;  
**Flour:** 5,030,000 tons, 0.2% of 1956;  
**Sugar:** 874,000 tons, 8.3% more than 1956.

Premier Chou En-lai, speaking at the same session, declared that the first 5-Year Plan has been a success, and that the comparison of the actual figures for 1957 with those planned in 1952, show an increase of 120% in the value of China's total industrial output. Chou En-lai referred to the case of steel and said

that "the total output for the first 5-Year Plan period will reach 16,300,000 tons. By comparison, in old China (including the North-eastern Provinces when they were under Japanese occupation) the aggregate steel output for the 49 years between 1900 and 1948 was only 7,600,000 tons. Of course," he said "compared with the industrially developed countries our present steel production is still very low. Hence, we must continue to adhere to our policy of priority development for heavy industry with sufficient attention to the development of agriculture and light industry."

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND AFGHANISTAN EXCHANGE OF GOODS

A protocol on the exchange of goods for a period of one year starting from this month was signed in Prague on July 1 between Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan.

Czechoslovakia will deliver to Afghanistan machines and machine equipment such as machine tools, pumps, diesel engines, diesel aggregates and farm and textile machinery, also telecommunication equipment, footwear, textiles, motor cycles and paper products. Afghanistan will send cotton, wool, oil seeds and hides in exchange.

For the first five months of this year, the volume of trade agreed on by Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan surpassed the amount of goods exchanged for the whole of last year. An agreement was also signed on the delivery of Czechoslovak engineering equipment for a drying plant and fruit canning factory in Kandahar. Czechoslovakia, in addition to the current trade agreement, is delivering whole investment units. Our picture shows the cement works at Djabal el Seraj, which will be put into operation this month. It has been erected by the Czechoslovak engineering industry (Technoexport) and will constitute an important factor in the modernisation of Afghanistan.

### CHINA-SYRIA TRADE

An agreement concerning modification of the 1955 trade and payments agreement between China and Syria was signed by Chinese Ambassador Chen Chih-fang and Syrian Minister of National Economy Khalil Kallas in Damascus last month. It provides for each Government to accord to the commercial representative of the other full diplomatic privileges and immunities.

There has been a marked development in Sino-Syrian trade relations since the agreement was signed in November 1955. According to statistics of the Syrian customs, exports to China in 1956 amounted to 5,555,000 Syrian pounds as against 590,000 pounds in 1955, registering almost a 10-fold increase. Imports from China totalled 737,000 Syrian pounds in 1956 as against 336,000 pounds in 1955. China has bought 8,300 tons of cotton since July 1956. This represents about 10% of the amount of Syrian cotton exports in the corresponding period. It is known in Damascus that the value of Syrian cotton exports amounts to nearly 30% of its total exports.

### INDIA'S IMPORT POLICY

The Government of India stated that a detailed licensing policy for the period 1 October 1957 to 31 March 1958 would be announced towards the end of September, when "a clearer picture regarding foreign exchange resources likely to be available to sustain imports during the new licensing period will be before us."

The statement says that a large number and a substantial value of licenses are





still outstanding for imports of plant and machinery, metals, raw materials and other goods. Imports during the three months period July-September 1957 are, therefore, likely to be maintained at a "reasonably high level," and no new licenses will be issued to established importers during this period. The unutilised or partially utilised licenses may, however, be expanded. Importers of machinery will also be able to apply for their quota licenses to be validated for the import of spare parts. In the meantime, in order to maintain an even flow of imports of essential raw materials the licensing authorities have been instructed to issue—after due scrutiny—ad hoc or actual user licenses for many items such as zinc, lead, tin, copper, nickel, ferro-chrome; certain kinds of scraps and alloys, aluminium, electrodes, tanning substances, hides and skins, sulphur, rock phosphate, wood pulp, raw wool, raw asbestos and books.

Import licenses for capital goods will continue to be issued on suitable deferred payment terms. Import licenses will be given for projects which save or earn foreign exchange either by reducing imports or by increasing exports. Licenses for machine tools will be given to established importers on an ad hoc basis.

Special emphasis is proposed to be

given to import requirements of export industries.

The Indian government has also issued an announcement declaring non-ferrous metals, organic heavy chemicals, inorganic heavy chemicals and cinematograph films (raw) to be essential commodities.

#### INDO-US STEEL AGREEMENT

Under an agreement between India and the United States signed in New Delhi on June 28, the International Cooperation Administration will make available four and a half million dollars of development assistance funds to acquire approximately 26,470 long tons of steel for expansion and rehabilitation of the Indian railways.

#### HOLLAND-JAPAN PAYMENTS AGREEMENT

The Netherlands and Japan have concluded an agreement according to which the exchange of payments between the two countries will be effected in guilders or in transferable sterling as from June 1 of this year. In addition, Japan will be admitted to the transferable guilder zone. It will thus be possible for Japanese banks to open guilder accounts with Dutch foreign exchange banks.

#### USA BUYS IN OUTER MONGOLIA

Among the interesting facts contained

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Please quote:—

Reference No. 33/57/DB/RLY.2.

in the recently published edition of *Asian Annual 1957*, is a disclosure that the USA imported 0.2 million dollars worth of goods during 1956, from China. Also the USA imported goods to the value of \$7.3 million from Outer Mongolia which was a decrease from the total of \$8.8 million for 1955. No goods are recorded as having been exported by the USA in return to these two communist countries.

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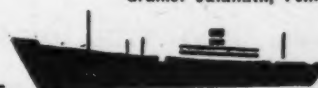
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### AUSTRALIA'S WOOL INDUSTRY AND ASIA

Australia's wool production continues to expand and is expected to exceed for the first time 1,500 million lb this season.

According to provisional estimates the current clip will amount to 1,530 million lb which would represent an increase of 535 million lb over the average in the years 1934-1938. The main factor responsible for the increase in production has been the growth in the number of sheep which has risen from about 111 million in the pre-war period to 139 million.

The Far Eastern markets have become major buyers of Australian wool. Japan which bought 191 million lb in the 1955-56 season is expected—if the present rate of buying continues—to take 250 to 260 million lb this year. Japan is at present the second largest buyer of Australian wool.

Mr. F. R. Howell, a member of the Australian Wool Bureau, on his return from a world tour, emphasised that the demand for wool is increasing in Asia and he added that "China is now one of the United Kingdom's biggest markets for wool tops. Formosa plans to more than double its numbers of spindles in the next three years. India has embarked on a Five-Year Plan to increase wool output."

Hong Kong imported 1,269,000 lb of

raw wool in 1956 and practically the whole amount came from Australia. However, a large quantity was re-exported, including 1,155,000 lb to Japan and the net balance of imports amounted to only 98,000 lb.

Hong Kong also imported wool tops from Australia to the amount of 929,000 lb and 1,667,000 lb from the UK. Hong Kong's exports of tops reached the figure of 521,000 lb, including 355,000 lb to Japan and 145,000 lb to South Korea. In 1956 Hong Kong's imports of wool yarn amounted to 3.6 million lb, including 1.9 million from Japan and 1.1 million lb from the UK. Hong Kong's imports of wool tissues amounted to 8,980,000 sq. yds., the chief supplier being UK and followed by Japan and Italy.

In 1956 Hong Kong's exports of wool yarn reached 2.9 million lb and 1 million sq. yds wool tissues (in 1955 the exports of wool tissues amounted to 751,000 sq. yds.). The main markets of Hong Kong's exports of wool yarn and tissues were South Korea, Indonesia, Formosa and other Asian countries.

### CHINESE MISSION IN YORKSHIRE

A commercial goodwill mission from China, headed by Mr. K. Y. Koo, Director of the China National Animal By-Products Export Corporation, visited Bradford recently. The mission paid a visit to some combers and topmakers in Bradford as well as to the Bradford Con-

ditioning House and the Wool Industries Research Association in Leeds. The mission was accompanied by Mr. J. Perry and Mr. K. Keenan of the London Export Corporation.

### AUSTRALIAN-JAPANESE TRADE AGREEMENT

The much-discussed trade agreement between Australia and Japan was signed in Tokyo on July 6. Under its terms Australia is likely to increase her purchases from Japan from £14 million to £25 million a year. These increased imports (which the Government claims will not be made at the expense of local industry) will be mainly textiles, salmon, canned fish, toys, and certain types of iron and steel. Broadly speaking, the agreement is intended to safeguard Australia's wool trade with Japan, and to develop a potentially valuable market for wheat, barley and other primary products.

The main points of the agreement include the following: (a) Most favoured nation treatment for both Australian and Japanese goods entering the two countries. (b) Duty-free entry into Japan of Australian wool for the next three years, with up to 90 per cent. of Japan's wool purchasing power available to Australia. (c) The placing of Japan on the normal trading basis which all other countries enjoy in Australia. As a step

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towards the establishment of normal trading relations, Australia has undertaken to begin discussions within the next three years to explore the possibility of applying GATT to trade between the two countries. The agreement would ensure Australian wool against bilateral deals that might force Japanese importers to buy from specific countries other than Australia.

### ITALIAN CHINA TRADE EMBARGO "Eastern World" Rome Correspondent writes:

Last month the Italian Government decided to partially lift its embargo on the export of strategic goods to China. Italy's list of lawful exports was raised by over 200 items, thus coinciding fully

with the list of non-strategic goods contemplated for Soviet Russia.

The most important new items in the list of permitted exports for People's China were: tractors and bulldozers up to a hundred horse-power, excavators, some types of locomotives and lorries, tyres, steel and tin plate, steel tubes and shells, railway and rolling materials, electric motors and generators, Diesels, certain chemicals and pharmaceuticals, some kinds of machinery and plants, fishing boats and dry cargo ships. Tankers are not included in the list.

The Italian Government's decision brought Italian policy in conformity, on this subject, with the one adopted by the remaining western European nations, and finally also with that of the United

States. The Italian business press commented on it favourably, and unanimously expressed the hope of seeing Italo-Chinese trade flourish in the future. Oddly enough, the *Osservatore Romano* published the news in short, but without comment. As far as is known Vatican circles showed no hostility, despite the bitterness with which, on past occasions, they had opposed efforts for the increase in Italo-Chinese trade.

The question of legal recognition of the Peking regime is as far removed from the plans of Italian diplomacy as ever, while no news was heard of an even semi-official Italian commercial mission to Peking. Italian Far Eastern policy still remains closely linked with that of the United States.

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## ***Malayan Merdeka***



*Kuala Lumpur, the lovely capital of the newly independent Federation, a town of 176,000, knows little nervousness or hurry (Picture by H. C. Taussig)*

## **The New Malaya**

*By H. C. Taussig*

**A**UGUST 31 is a memorable day in the history of Malaya. Or perhaps one should say of Malayasia, for that is what the Malays intend to call the new state, though the Chinese members of the Government have, so far, still insisted on retaining the old name. It is a date which will always be remembered as the culminating point of a peaceful evolution towards independence on the part of the people of the Federation and on the part of Britain, of another proof of the integrity of her colonial policy which aims at the orderly transfer of power to her colonial subjects. The Alliance Government, under purposeful leadership, has all reason to be proud of its achievement, and so has the British Colonial Office which has shown the greatest under-

standing and cooperation in making the transfer of power a success.

Up to that point the support of all who sincerely wished to see Malaya independent, had to go, without reservation, to the present Alliance coalition of Malay, Chinese and Indian citizens whose principle function has now been achieved.

But with the advent of independence, an entirely new situation arises, and many problems, serious differences of views and aims, will now come into the open and will have to be tackled. Whether the present administrators are the right men to tackle them, and whether the present composition of politicians will be able to maintain itself in power in the face of increased political consciousness of the population, remains to be seen. The predominant issue at the elections in 1955 was that of "Merdeka", and there were few who did not wish to support this aim.

The Alliance has been a necessary stage of development in Malaya's road to independence, but its mandate has been derived from a very small proportion of the 6 million who inhabit Malaya and of whom not more than just under 50 percent are Malays or, as the newest statistics begin to call them, Malaysians. The Alliance thus represents the articulate section of those who were entitled to vote in 1955, and it is generally recognised that a comparatively limited proportion of the population was entitled to vote then, while only a fraction of even those Chinese who were given voting rights made use of them. The new Constitution, while still strongly safeguarding Malay prerogatives, will nevertheless entail a considerably increased franchise for the Chinese, and it will then become apparent whether the present spokesmen for Chinese interests in the Government are the true representatives of the Malayan Chinese or not. Nobody can be more aware of this than the leading members of the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA), which is the Chinese part of the Alliance. The atmosphere of pending tension between the communities is to a certain extent eased by the Tunku's own personal, beneficial influence, by the indefatigable efforts of Sir Cheng-lock Tan and others who have set themselves the ideal of creating a Malayan nation out of the various communal components of the country. But many grievances remain from the Chinese point of view, and to ignore them would be political suicide for the MCA. However, to fight seriously for the full rights and aspirations of the Chinese half of the population, would make it difficult for the MCA to remain in the coalition, though personal skill of some of their exponents would probably succeed in perpetuating their power — and business opportunities — by ingenious compromise.

Similarly, while the position of the Malay section of the Alliance, the United Malay National Organisation (UMNO) is more securely anchored owing to the traditional acceptance of feudal guidance among the Malays, and also because of the successful leadership of Tunku Abdul Rahman, it will nevertheless, and just on account of its greater responsibility, have to give some proof of its efficiency in the actual running of the country. And it is on this issue that the Tunku may find his greatest immediate difficulties.

During my visit to Malaya earlier this year, I was impressed by the high integrity and outstanding ability of a number of key men in Kuala Lumpur. But their competence was matched by a certain amount of lethargy, inefficiency, and opportunism of too many nonentities. Thus work tends to concentrate on a few able and reliable shoulders, and to deteriorate subsequently in a mass of bureaucratic bottle-

ocks. Promises are easily given in Kuala Lumpur, and just as easily and charmingly forgotten. Problems appear less urgent from the apparent safety of governmental desks than to less favourably placed individuals. While this state of affairs is no monopoly of Malaya, it is nevertheless worth while noting in assessing future political and economic developments and judging Malaya by international standards.

The newly independent country's policy, externally and internally, has not been decided yet. Malaya is more or less still feeling her way, but her foreign policy must be expected to be influenced by not only her traditional connection with the West and her loan requirements, though these are important factors, but by her internal struggle against Communism will have a bearing towards her attitude vis-a-vis China, the USSR and the Socialist Democracies, none of which has been invited to be represented at the Merdeka celebrations. Present feeling in Kuala Lumpur is not in

favour of joining SEATO, though the country will necessarily be closely linked up with some of its forces helping to fight the jungle elements.

Internally, there is no doubt that the Alliance Government has the earnest desire to improve living standards. If sufficient able administrators will be available to carry out the carefully devised schemes in education, health, agriculture and commerce, there should be no reason why the Federation could not become one of the richest and happiest countries in South-East Asia. Only roughly 25 percent of the country has been developed so far, and the new state offers, therefore, ideal scope for construction to a peacefully united, multi-racial Malayan nation.

The important position of Malaya and the potential riches of that beautiful country, offer all conditions for a successful future. The friendliness and sunny disposition of her people make one wish sincerely it may be a happy one.

# MALACCA

By

Dorothy Thatcher

*The gentle-flowing Malacca River with the Church of St. Francis in the background*



THE ancient spice port of Malacca on Malaya's southwest coast where the wind blows soft and the famous Straits flow close in, is a wonderland of legend and spectre. For this tin cathedral city boasts many different kinds of architecture, including Malay mosques of the fifteenth century, Chinese temples almost as old, a Portuguese church and fortifications of the sixteenth century, stout Dutch houses of the seventeenth, a clock tower and monument essentially Victorian English, as well as many other Malay, Chinese, Indian and British buildings of historic interest. The picturesque old port is flanked by fine beaches and rocky coves and everywhere the grass seems greener—and tropical flowers gayer—than elsewhere in the equatorial Peninsula. Gardens and tree-lined squares abound with *flame-of-the-forest*, *wistaria*, *bougainvillea* and fragrant *frangipanni*. Terracotta is the favoured colour wash for facades and this is greatly enhanced by the polished green tiles from Holland which have been used liberally.

In spite of Malaya's geographical position it is seldom unbearably hot in Malacca and there is a daily refreshing shower; the mornings and evenings are most pleasant for all forms of exercise. So the traveller who, at the cool of even-

tide, climbs the hill which is the centre of Malacca's ancient fortress, can gaze down on the old churches which long ago rang out the *angelus* to call the followers of the fearless d'Albuquerque to worship, or tolled monotonously for the leather-jerkined Netherlanders to come and pray. For this romantic spice port visited by Marco Polo has changed little with the passing of centuries and its historic buildings, some now yielding to crumbling old age, are being cherished with reverent care. But more than the broadspan of Dutch Christ Church, Portuguese St. Paul's and the twin towers of St. Francis—from his vantage point by the Fort of St. John—the wayfarer can see the whole compact town around him, the tranquil river with toy-like bridges, the statue of St. Francis Xavier, Apostle of the East, modern homes, a hospital in western style, the *Porta de Santiago*, streamlined cars passing ambling bullock carts with their quaint thatched roofs, and the blue Straits of Malacca, the sea lane Drake and Lancaster both cast envious eyes upon.

And there are the coloured people. The Malay in his *batik sarong*, loose silk coat and round velvet hat (*songkok*); Chinese girls in lovely *cheong-sams* (slit-sided Shanghai dresses, pencil-slim); Indian women in muslin robes and

flowing *saris*; and the Eurasians in their own particular style of European dress. As in the rest of the Malay Peninsula, the population of Malacca is plural. This gives rise to many kinds of delightful entertainment, besides religious festivals, which are enjoyed alike by one and all and form part of the Settlement's daily life and pleasure. As well as the restaurants, dance halls, open-air cooking stalls and "dives" attract customers of every race and creed, even if they may only drink a cup of coffee together. For the old spice port, and its agricultural areas, are settled and happy places, where the various communities have lived long in harmony together and solved, for themselves at least, the thorny problem of a mixed population. The territory is mainly open country, too, and Communist terrorists, still infesting the Malayan jungle, have caused little trouble in Malacca.

In the straggling arcades and street shops of the city, pungent with the smell of curry and owned by Portuguese and Dutch Eurasians as well as Malays, Chinese and Indians, are found the arts and crafts of Malaya at their best. Exquisite basket work and fine straw hats, tooled silverware from the remote East Coast, *batik sarongs* and gold cloth for the wealthy, carved and polished wood heads of rare beauty, ivory, jade, silks, jewellery and, of course, the tough Malacca cane used for walking sticks. And as the traveller moves among this fabulous collection of Oriental splendour he will readily believe, as do the Malays, that Malacca was the Ophir in the Book of Kings and mist-capped Mount Ophir, which overshadows Malacca's rice fields and symmetric lines of *Hevea Braziliensis* in the rubber plantations, hides elusive gold veins which will be revealed to Man one day.

Indeed, we read how the fleet of Hiram, King of Tyre, sailed every three years from the Gulf of Akaba and, after the same number of years, returned again laden with treasure. These ships must have gone east and the time taken over the

round trip points to some port as far distant as Malacca and a place known only to the sailors of Tyre, for obviously there was no competition. It is impossible to say to what extent the Malay Peninsula was inhabited in those far off Biblical days but it is reasonable to suppose that there would be little more than scattered tribes of Australian and other aborigines, who moved over the ridge of hills on their way to their present homes. Some of their descendants remain in Malaya to this day; small dark people with fuzzy hair and quite unlike the handsome Malay who came from the Yunnan, Sumatra and Java around 1,000 AD. But should it happen that the source of Solomon's gold is proved to be Mount Ophir in Malaya, then fair Malacca may cease to be a "sleepy hollow," paradise of the historian and artist and a port silting-up with disuse. But for the happy present it remains a beauty spot—a harbour filled with fishing and pleasure craft—and the rural areas are prosperous even if the local rice farmers mainly prefer the old buffalo plough to anything more modern.

But Malacca's earliest history is too wondrous to be overlooked. Among the narrow, mediaeval streets of the city are found the names Bona Vista, Tranquerah, Heeren, Jonkheer, Tinsmith, Goldsmith, as well as Malay, Chinese and Indian signs, all paying tribute to the races who have played an important part in establishing the Settlement. But in the fifteenth century the Malacca Sultanate was all-powerful and held in awe by the lesser kingdoms of Malaya; its Mohammedan ruler paid tribute to the Emperor of China who, in return, traded lavishly with the Malays and allowed a number of his subjects to settle in the land. Also to the spice port came ships from India, Persia, Java, Sumatra and the Moluccas, allowing the wealthy merchants of Malacca to handle the rich trade of Asia, South-East Asia and Asia-Minor; nutmegs, mace, pepper, camphor, gold, tin, silk, cotton, quicksilver, porcelain, opium, tortoise-shell, gems, rice, sheep, rare fowls and elephants.

These Malays were courteous men and brave. They dressed their brown bodies in silk and wore jewelled daggers at their waists and, as much as trade, music was their life. Arab *dhow*s, go-betweens of the Venetian emporium in the West, also brought missionaries to Malacca to convert the Malays to the creed of Islam. And a thorough job they made of it. Mosques, finer than the houses, were built in which to praise Allah. For the once pagan Malay found his new religion satisfying and he was glad to give thanks for his robust manhood and abundant blessings. Slaves tended his wives and children, his gardens, orchard and swimming pool; clerks loaded his ships and tallied his cargo; his sons grew tall and straight like trees and sought women early. "Amboh! There is no God like Allah." They had come from Tamasak (ancient Singapore) in the very early fifteenth century, these men of Malacca, warriors whose ancestors had been the remnants of the once powerful kingdom of Sri Vijaya, ruler of the Straits, before the island of Tamasak had been betrayed and sacked by hordes from the mighty Javanese empire of Majapahit.

By 1511, the Malacca Malays were at the height of their power and prosperity but that year, in a second attempt by the Portuguese, the rich territory fell to the sword of Alfonso

## East Wind

*The evening of life.  
East wind  
dreams and whispers of youth.  
Before me blossoms are fallen.  
Peach fruits hide among the leaves.  
Late is the season.*

*Below,  
the stream is choked with pyrus.  
Black fishes ride the current  
in caves of mud,  
dying weeds.*

*Yet those who sip the Analects  
mix regret with  
lotus water.*

Edwin Thumboo

Edwin Thumboo, one of Malaya's young writers (he is 24), successfully introduces his own country's atmosphere in his poetry and thus contributes to the creation of a new, typically Malayan literature.



d'Albuquerque and its people became more or less a subjected race. The conquerors did much to expand the trade of the spice port in their own interests, though their greatest contribution to posterity was made with bricks and mortar and the religious stronghold they established. Portuguese Eurasians in Malacca speak the language of the conquerors to this day and make pilgrimages to the tomb of St. Francis Xavier which lies in the ancient church. It is an empty tomb, however, for the remains of the Saint were long since transferred to Goa. History records that the Holy One thought little of the Settlement and eventually shook its dust from his feet. He despaired of the wickedness of the Portuguese and was distressed by the absolute refusal of the Malays to embrace Christianity.

In the following century the conquerors themselves were threatened when the Dutch, in pursuit of trade and empire, secured a firm footing in Batavia (now Djakarta). The war against Malacca began almost immediately and after gallant resistance the Portuguese capitulated in 1641. But the Dutch served Malacca ill; they made attacks on little Malay kingdoms; encircled the port with a stout stone wall against future adversaries; built a church and *Stadthuis* (this remains a Government office to this day) and removed the rich entrepot trade to Batavia. So began the twilight of the great spice port and an even greater decline in the fortunes of its founders; Malacca became a bastion from which the Straits were guarded and, as far as trade was concerned, merely an outpost of the Dutch clearing house in Java. The Malays now worked on the land and fished in the sea for support; they talked of the gold in Mount Ophir and wove some fascinating ghost stories into the history of Malacca.

Having established an emporium on the island of Penang at the end of the eighteenth century, the East India Company soon cast covetous glances lower down the coast, but it was not until after complicated diplomatic manoeuvres during the wars of Napoleon that the Dutch were finally ousted. By this time the port of Penang was expanding and Singapore, in the extreme south of the Peninsula, which had remained an uninhabited swamp (save for pirates) since the days when Sri Vijaya was put to the sword, had been discovered—and pur-



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chased—by Sir Stamford Raffles. So the hey-day of the old spice port was over and the proud wharves were never again to know the burden of ships from many lands, loaded to the gunwhales with cargo desired by the world. And under benevolent British rule (eventually as part of the former Straits Settlements) prosperity returned to Malacca in a homely way; her lush rice fields spread out towards the blue inland hills, rubber plantations sprang into rich production and organised fishing fleets sailed out from that historic gem of the Orient which had once been the goal of visionary and adventurous men since the dawn of Christendom.

## Chinese Secret Societies and Merdeka

By Leon Comber (Johore Bahru)

IT is probable that Chinese secret societies were first brought to Malaya by Southern Chinese immigrants (Cantonese from Kwangtung Province) in the early part of the 19th century. Chinese secret societies have always played an important part in the life of the overseas Chinese, but by their nature very little is known about them. Even to this day, their influence in the course of events has not been fully appreciated. Their activities have included the operation of criminal rings and rackets; the "protection" and extortion of squeeze from hawkers, shopkeepers, hotel-keepers, prostitutes, labourers, opium and gambling dens; the perpetration of crimes of violence; the formation of

self-protection units against the depredations of rival robber gangs; the organization of opposition to the government; and the stirring up of anti-foreign feeling. However, in the past, it is true they have had a benevolent side to them as well. Some of the money they have collected, for instance, has been paid out again to members as loans and expenses for their urgent personal needs. Many Chinese religious festivals, and the expenses connected with birth, marriage and death, have been paid for out of secret society funds. But, in general, it is true to say that their influence for evil has been greater than their influence for good.

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In China, secret societies were mainly significant because they were associated with frontier conditions or with shortcomings in the social and political structure of government. Many peasants joined to protect their own social, economic, and political interests from the oppression of corrupt officials and overbearing gentry.

In the pioneer days of Malayan history, these factors probably accounted for many of the Chinese in Malaya joining, although undoubtedly there were other reasons as well. Some joined for the power it gave them, others were bullied or blackmailed into joining, and there may have been a third group who joined, as they would a thrift and loan society, for the benefit they received.

The arcana of Chinese secret societies include nocturnal initiation ceremonies, secret signs and language, and the taking of an oath of blood brotherhood which binds a member in absolute loyalty to his society. Those who lightly break this oath are put to death. The laws of a society are held to supersede the ordinary laws of the land, and, in this respect, secret societies have become a government within a government, a state of affairs which clearly cannot be tolerated by any self-respecting government.

After a vacillating period of registration and recognition lasting a number of years, Chinese secret societies were finally proscribed by Government decree in 1890. But the Societies Ordinance, like most legislation, was not perfect, and the ingenuity of Chinese secret societies soon found a way around it. In many cases, they still found it possible to survive by hiding behind a masquerade of charitable, social and other harmless-sounding associations, and putting forward men of straw in place of their real leaders. Thence-

forth, the history of Chinese secret societies in Malaya has been one of a continual battle of wits with the authorities. The police and the Chinese Protectorate (later the Chinese Affairs Department) have done their best, but the fact remains that Chinese secret societies are just as powerful today as ever they were. No aspersions are cast in saying this. I merely wish to state the facts.

According to the latest official figures, there are known to be 360 secret societies in Singapore, with a membership of 13,000. In the Federation of Malaya, there are at least 48 secret societies, but no estimate is available of their membership. It is not likely to be less than several thousands. We should remember that these estimates are based on information available to the police, and do not therefore take into account those societies that have been successful in avoiding detection. In addition, we should take into account a large body of sympathisers and supporters amounting to several thousands, who, while not actually members themselves, are more likely to be on the side of secret societies than government. This may be because they have relatives or friends who are members, or merely on account of the picaresque element in such organizations which appeals to the Chinese mind.

It is not necessary here to recount the part played by Chinese secret societies in the making of Chinese history. Suffice it to say that one of the most eventful uprisings in which they took part was the 1911 Revolution, when they helped overthrow the Manchu dynasty and establish the Chinese Republic. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the engineer of this movement, was himself a leading secret society member, and the Kuomintang, the instrument he used to achieve his ambition, was nothing more than a political party organized along secret society lines. When branches of the Kuomintang were established in Malaya, it is therefore not surprising that they soon formed affiliations in the secret society underworld. Later, in 1927, when the left-wing Kuomintang split from the main body and formed the Chinese Communist Party, it took with it its satellite secret societies. This development was closely paralleled in Malaya. From this time onwards, there has always been a tendency for Chinese secret societies to ally themselves with political cliques and parties. This point is often overlooked, but it is important. For instance, when the Malayan Communist Party decided on a campaign of violence against the Government in 1948, there were almost certainly secret societies in sympathy with, if not actually in support of, its aims. A few years after this, it tried to win over all secret societies to its side by urging an agreement as to immediate ends. This was based primarily on Chinese solidarity against foreigners. All secret organizations, irrespective of political colour, were exhorted to fight against the common enemy of British colonialism. If the Malayan Government succeeded in putting down the Communist insurrection, it was argued, then it would be free to concentrate on dealing with secret societies. While this appeal undoubtedly had a great attraction about it, it is too early to judge of its success. Further discussion of this subject would lead us far outside the scope of this article, and the only point I wish to make here is that Chinese secret societies have never been divorced from the contending political ideologies that are at play throughout South-East Asia.

It is interesting to note at this stage that there have been signs recently that Chinese secret societies are beginning to interest themselves in the field of local politics as well. Here

are a few examples, although, of course, it goes without saying, not all of this information can be confirmed. During the first elections held in Singapore in 1955, there were persistent rumours that certain political societies were not against using the ready-made organization provided by secret societies to "persuade" people to vote for them. The secret societies were allegedly paid so much per vote. The *Singapore Annual Report* for 1955 may have been alluding, *inter alia*, to this state of affairs when it remarked: "The events of the year were to belie some of the assumptions on which the new constitution had been based . . . The dangers of the failure or misuse of the new freedoms were seen in the readiness of some to adopt unparliamentary methods of violence or the threat of violence". Be this as it may, there was certainly no doubt it was referring to the rioting and other unrest which marked the first year of office of the popularly elected Government. But it may be found that secret societies had a hand in these as well.

In 1956, the Singapore Police confirmed that individual secret society men were known to be working in close cooperation with certain politicians. And then, following on that, came an intriguing report in the *Straits Times* of a secret society in Singapore offering to double the membership of a certain political party within a year, providing it was given a say in the running of the party. The implications behind this report, assuming it to be correct, are far-reaching. For the first time in the long history of secret societies in

Malaya, a secret society was making a bid for local political power.

This state of affairs was not confined to Singapore. In the same year, the Chairman of the George Town Branch of the Penang Division of the Labour Party of Malaya publicly protested against Chinese secret societies interfering in a local election. They were again prepared to "arrange" votes at a price for any party corrupt enough to buy them.

What does all of this mean? In the first place, I think it can now be said with some justification that Chinese secret societies have obtained such a strong hold on Chinese life in Malaya that it is doubtful whether they can ever be eradicated. Secondly, at one time it used to be thought, with some comfort, that they were only interested in making money. But now it seems they have other ambitions too. There is a combination of revolutionary theory with criminal practice. Thirdly, they have defied the Government for close on seventy years, and it is certain their activities, whether political or criminal, will not stop with the advent of Merdeka. There are now reported to be certain local politicians in favour of their open recognition after the Malayan Governments assume responsibility for internal security. But whether this comes about or not, and I do not think it likely, the student of current affairs in the new Malaya would do well to take them into account. The power they wield behind the scenes may grow to great significance.

## THE SULTANS OF MALAYA

By the EASTERN WORLD Kuala Lumpur Correspondent

SIX million people and nine rulers might appear an unusual ratio for a country entering independence at the end of this month, yet nothing is more certain than that in modern Malaya the rulers are inseparable from the constitution.

There has been no serious suggestion that independence should number their days, or that they should be pensioned off and placed in honourable retirement. They have shown that they are part of the people and nothing has testified to this more than the delicate manner in which the Alliance Party, which has headed the nationalist movement in Malaya, has handled its relations with the sultans.

Curtailed though their powers may be, they are a strong force in Malay today. They are the upholders of Malay religion and custom which through the years has given them great significance among the Malays, who make up half of the new nation's population.

No amount of logical argument against the principle of nine rulers for six million people and a country divided into 11 states (Penang and Malacca as former British settlements will have a governor as their constitutional head) seems likely to weaken their position.

There is little reason why it should. Malaya's rulers have little in common with the free-spending Asian rulers of the European international set. With the exception of the Sultan of Johore, who frequently visits Britain for health reasons, they are stay-at-home sultans.

Their *istanas* (palaces), though substantial, are not lavish and the maintenance of the sultan, including political pensions to relatives and others, is not exceptionally high by Asian standards. The cost amounts to between two and three percent of the annual State budgets.

Sticklers for tradition and custom, Malay dress with a *kriss* and a style of headgear which denotes their high rank is de rigueur for most sultans and is always worn on ceremonial occasions. One exception is the Sultan of Johore who wears the uniform of the Johore Military Forces.

Their courts are small by any standards, but at least one member of the ruler's staff will be an expert on *adat*, Malay custom which on an ceremonial occasion must be punctiliously observed. Many of the customs are all the more forceful for being unwritten law, but they strictly rule the position of the chiefs of the State.

Formerly the chiefs were the minor rulers of districts in the sultans' states. Today their position is maintained but their powers, with the sultans', have been curtailed. Yet among the Malay community they are still men of importance.

Malay custom is at its best during the frequent royal marriages between the ruling houses or at a coronation. Succession in all but one State is through the eldest son who becomes the Raja Muda (literally young raja). In Negri Sembilan (Nine Nations State) the ruler is elected from among the chiefs under a complicated system which, how-



ever, eventually produces a ruler agreeable to all and who takes the title of Yang Di-Pertuan Besar. Negri Sembilan is also unusual in having part of the state under matriarchal system.

Malaya's rulers today are modern monarchs who command the respect of all communities and the devotion of the Malay community who see in them a strong safeguard of their customs and religion. They are, in a way, the Malay community's sheet anchor in a time of rapid change.

They are keen travellers within their own domain and during the emergency have played a large part in rallying the Malayas against communism. The Sultan of Pahang, in particular, has criss-crossed his State by car, boat and plane to exhort his people bravely to resist Malaya's communist terrorists.

In the past, when communist terrorism was a real danger to any traveller, they were heavily guarded though it was generally conceded that the communists would never attempt to attack a sultan and bring down the crystallised wrath of the Malay community. In fact none has been attacked. Today their entourage on State visits is simpler and in the best traditions of modern monarchy they visit people's homes, shake hands and quiz householders about their living conditions.

It was not always so. One hundred years ago Malaya's sultans had powers that were limited only by the size of their army. There were frequent skirmishes between the States and a powerful personality in one State was liable to affect the fortunes of the others.

In their turn, the Malay States were subject to attack from the Siamese. Courts were inclined to be the centre of intrigue and a continuous, daily search for a balance of power. Sultans had the power of life and death which they used according to their interpretation of mercy.

It was one of these changes of power that produced grave disturbances in Perak in the 1870s affecting trade and Chinese miners, who were British citizens, that brought

British intervention. Britain stabilised the position by installing the Raja Muda who signed a treaty accepting a British Resident and the advice of the Resident on matters other than Malay religion and custom.

Eventually similar treaties were signed by all the other States and the British Residents became of less importance as regular administrative machinery was introduced.

Virtually the same principles still govern the conduct of the rulers today. How deeply they are regarded by the Malay community was dramatically illustrated when Britain, shortly after the last war, introduced the Malayan Union proposals which reduced the power of the sultans and made other important changes. It was represented as reducing the sultans to cyphers and the proposals were swept aside.

But their political influence continues. They are members of the State Executive Councils which are equivalent to cabinets and still exercise their prerogative over the lives of their subjects by reviewing all death sentences. Four times a year at least, but often more frequently, they meet together in a rulers' conference that lasts for two days and consider the country's legislation and policy. All bills which go through the Legislative Council do so "with the advice and consent of the rulers" and it is generally considered that in this case there is more advice than is usually tendered by a European monarch.

Sometime this month it is expected that the rulers' conference will announce the name of the first paramount ruler. The Alliance Party has been careful to maintain the sultans' position in an independent Malaya and won their approval to the principle of having a "King of Malaya" by three yearly rotation. It has been left to the rulers to devise a system for this and to elect a paramount ruler from amongst them.

Although this ruler will be the constitutional head for three years, the others will still continue their traditional functions. There is no suggestion that they should be pensioned off or retired. In Malaya at least, nine rulers are not considered eight too many.



(Left) The Sultan of Johore, HH Sultan Ibrahim ibni Almarhum Sultan Abu Bakar. (Centre) The Sultan of Pahang, HH Sultan Abu Bakar Ri'ayatuddin Almuadzan Shah ibni Almarhum Almu'tasim Bi'llah Sultan Abdullah. (Right) The Yang Di Pertuan Besar of Negri Sembilan, HH Tuanku Abdul Rahman ibni Almarhum Tuanku Muhammad

# MALAYA'S DEVELOPMENT PLAN 1956-60

By The Hon'ble Oscar A. Spencer

(Economic Adviser to the Govt. of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur)

THE broad outline of a draft Development Plan for the period 1956-60 was published by the Federation Government in March 1957. The general structure of this Plan follows fairly closely the recommendations of an International Bank Mission which made a survey of the economy of the country in 1954, but the details have been drawn up in the light of a reassessment of development needs in accordance with the policy of the first elected Government which took office in August 1955 and the subsequent constitutional talks in January 1956 at which Great Britain agreed that the Federation of Malaya should become a fully independent nation by August 31, 1957. The Plan as published in the Government White Paper covers also the expansion of the Armed Forces during the period. However, the present article will be confined to the economic and social aspects of the Plan.

Development planning in the Federation is the responsibility of the Economic Committee of the Executive Council which was established in April 1956 under the Chairmanship of the Chief Minister. The Committee is served by a small Economic Secretariat.

The plan envisages capital expenditure on economic and social development of £1,009.5\* million over the period 1956/60. A breakdown by main heads of expenditure is given below:

	Allocations of Capital Expen- diture 1956-60 \$ million	Allocations as % of total
<b>Economic Development</b>		
Land, Industry & Natural Resources ... ..	255.9	25.4
Communications ... ..	254.4	25.2
Fuel and Power ... ..	80.1	7.9
	590.4	58.5
<b>Social Development</b>		
Education ... ..	95.4	9.5
Health & Social Welfare ... ..	53.0	5.2
Housing ... ..	32.5	3.2
Water Supplies ... ..	69.6	6.9
Others ... ..	68.2	6.8
	318.7	31.6
<b>Government Sector</b> ... ..	90.4	8.9
Unallocated Reserve ... ..	10.0	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,009.5</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Lack of space prevents more than the briefest reference to individual schemes. Mention must, however, be made of the largest single allocation, viz., of \$160 million by way of replanting grants to the rubber industry. At first sight it may appear that this allocation is unduly large. The determining factors are, however, that the 3½ million acres under rubber represent nearly three-quarters of the country's cultivated area; that rubber normally accounts for some 60 percent of the country's export earnings and directly and indirectly

makes a major contribution to Government revenue; and finally, that unless the ageing seedling rubber, which still occupies much of the rubber acreage, particularly among the smallholders and smaller estates, is replaced by new high yielding material producing two or three times more, a large section of the natural rubber industry would be unable to compete in price with synthetic. If the latter should happen, the Malayan industry would gradually cease to be a major source of economic strength and widespread unemployment could then be expected. The World Bank Mission thoroughly endorsed the policy described above.

The desirability of encouraging a greater degree of diversification in agriculture is, however, fully recognised. The rubber replanting scheme itself permits replanting with approved alternative crops such as cacao, coconuts, coffee, oil palms, manila hemp, padi, pepper, pineapples, ramie and tea, while the Department of Agriculture is constantly investigating the development of improved types of planting material and better cultivation techniques. A Land Development Authority, with an initial capital of \$15 million, has also been established to assist the coordinated development and settlement of new land.

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Next to rubber replanting, drainage and irrigation schemes, with particular reference to increasing rice production, occupy the most important position in the agricultural programme. A sum of \$40 million has been allocated for this purpose for the improvement of existing irrigation schemes and the construction of new schemes.

The Government contribution towards development of the tin industry will be concerned principally with making land available (although this is of course a State as opposed to a Federal matter) and providing surveys, maps, technical and research services and other aids to the prospecting and development of new deposits.

The Government is also anxious to promote the development of secondary industries as a means of strengthening the economy. Accordingly importance is attached to the improvement of certain facilities and public services on which the expansion of industry and commerce so greatly depends. Thus, the allocation for transport and communications amounts to \$254 millions, of which \$75 million will be spent on the building of new roads and improvement of existing roads, \$60 million for the modernisation of the railways, \$43 million on port improvements and \$55 million on telecommunications.

The development of electric power will claim a little more than \$80 million of Government funds during the period. This sum includes a \$25 million contribution to Phase I of a \$120 million hydro-electric scheme in the Cameron Highlands which when completed is expected to have a capacity of between 65,000 and 85,000 kW.

A sum of \$8 million has been provided for direct measures to promote industrial development, e.g. as a contribution to the capital of an Industrial Development Finance Corporation and on industrial research and surveys. Additionally the Legislature has recently approved an interim statement of industrial development policy by the Government which contemplates a reasonable degree of tariff protection in appropriate cases, the provision of tax reliefs, etc., for new industries and various inducements and safeguards to attract foreign capital.

In the social sector, the allocation of \$318.7 million is sub-allocated as follows: Education \$95.4 million; Water Supplies \$69.6 million; Medical and Health \$53 million; Housing \$32.5 million; Others \$68.2 million.

The Education programme aims at providing primary education for all school-going children by 1960, the expansion of secondary education and the establishment of rural trade schools and technical institutes. In the Medical and Health programme the emphasis is mainly on the establishment of Rural Health Centres to bring medical facilities within reach of most of the rural population except those in very remote and isolated areas, the building of new hospitals and the improvement of existing hospitals.

In the Government Sector the allocation of \$90 million is mainly for office requirements of various Government departments and for housing of Government employees. It also includes a provision of \$7 million for capital expenditure required to establish diplomatic missions abroad on the attainment of independence.

The Plan provides for an increase of annually recurrent expenditure of \$65 million distributed as follows: Education \$42 million a year; Health \$7 million; Foreign Service \$3 million; Others \$11 million.

Although the planned expenditure on economic and social development during the period 1956-60 amounts to \$1,009.5 million, the total capital funds required for the period are estimated to be \$1,358 million. This additional amount of approximately \$349 million is in respect of \$77 million of loan money for capital expenditure already incurred in or before 1955 which has still to be raised, \$93 million for expatriate officers' compensation, \$140 million for the Armed Forces and \$36 million for an unallocated reserve. The plan proposes that the total financial requirements for the period be met from the following sources:

Unexpended balance of loans raised prior to 1956	\$20 million
Drawing on reserves	\$250 "
Floating debt operations	\$120 "
Domestic long term loans	\$500 "
Overseas loans	\$85 "
Foreign aid (from the United Kingdom Government in cash and kind mainly for Armed Forces programme)	\$152 "
Balance to be raised from other sources not yet determined	\$231 "
	<b>\$1,358 million</b>

The successful implementation of the plan will call for a considerable degree of flexibility in procedure to deal with unforeseen changes in the availability of men, materials and money, and in order that new works and schemes may be introduced as smoothly as possible and bottlenecks and excessive backlogs of work may be avoided. To meet this need it is proposed to proceed by a series of capital budgets which will enable the diversion of resources to those sections of the economy where they can best be utilised.

It is a common criticism of many national development plans that they are liable to generate dangerous inflationary pressures. The Federation's plan envisages capital expenditure by the Government on economic and social development at the average rate of roughly \$200 million a year and although this represents a considerable increase on the present rate, it is still estimated to be less than 5 percent of the gross national income. It is not thought that this is excessive or likely to result in undue strain to the economy.



## Messages to "Eastern World"

From **TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN**

*Chief Minister of the Federation of Malaya*

**I** AM indeed glad to learn that the "Eastern World" is bringing out a special issue in commemoration of Malayan Independence and I send my greetings and good wishes on this occasion.

Here in Malaya, we stand on the threshold of Independence and looking back over what has been achieved since the Alliance Government came into office in August 1955, it will, I think be agreed that it is remarkable how much has been done in the short space of two years. But our task is not ended. Independence will bring the challenge of fresh problems, but with God's help, I am confident that these will be overcome and as a result of our efforts, a United Malayan nation will take her rightful place in the community of the free nations of the world.

But I do not under-estimate the magnitude of the tasks ahead which the attainment of independence will present and in these days of challenge and opportunity, it is good to know that we have friends all over the world who follow our struggle with sympathy and goodwill. In particular, I recall with gratitude the assistance given by the "Eastern World" to the Alliance in our early struggle for democratic elections in this country—the successful outcome of which paved the way for the independence we are shortly to celebrate: the issue of this special number to commemorate Merdeka is another friendly gesture for which I am very grateful. I hope that it will be successful in introducing our achievements and problems to an ever increasing section of world opinion.



Tunku Abdul Rahman, who will become the first Prime Minister of independent Malaya, might be called a "late developer." Graduating from Cambridge at the age of 21, he was called to the Bar in his middle forties. His quiet, unassuming manner is deceptive for he has a determination and a firmness that commands respect from supporters and opponents alike. His main asset, however, is his sincerity and honesty of purpose. Although only 54, he has already become something of a father figure to his fellow countrymen and his efforts in the course of Merdeka have secured him a permanent place in the history of Malaya.

From  
**Field Marshal Sir GERALD TEMPLAR**

Field Marshal Sir Gerald Templar, at present Chief of the Imperial General Staff, was High Commissioner for the Federation of Malaya during the critical years of increased terrorist activities, and at a time when the Alliance Party was intensifying its campaign for independence.

War Office,  
Whitehall,  
London, S.W.1.

**I** AM very glad indeed to send a little message to the "EASTERN WORLD" on the occasion of the achievement of independence by the Federation of Malaya.

My wife and I spent 2½ very happy, if very hectic, years in that delightful country. We became extremely fond of its peoples and we have been deeply touched since our departure by the way in which so many old friends of all communities write to us from time to time.

We both of us wish the Federation of Malaya all happiness and prosperity at this important stage in its history when it enters into our great Commonwealth of Nations as an independent and self-governing country. We have always had great faith in the future of Malaya.

11th June, 1957.

TEMPLAR, F.M.

From  
**DATO Sir CHENG-LOCK TAN**

Dato Sir Cheng-lock Tan, President of the Malayan Chinese Association, is one of the towering personalities of South-East Asia and perhaps the most revered political figure in Malaya today. A man of exceptional qualities, he was the first to foresee the need of uniting the various Malayan races into a single nation.

**M**ALAYA is now on the eve of its attainment of independence. This country has a big future ahead of it. Malaya has an area of about 52,000 square miles with a population of nearly 8 millions including that of the Colony of Singapore. Only 20 percent of Malaya is opened up and there is still scope for the enterprise of businessmen intent on the exploitation of its potential wealth and resources. In the next 20 to 30 years its population may increase to 20-30 millions, and we all should work hard to make the future Malaya a great country with a united Malayan nation. The Malays, Chinese, Indians and Europeans have lived in peace and harmony in this country during the past 500 years and should continue to do so in the future.

Malaya, economically, is largely dependent on its two major products—rubber and tin—which are profitable industries, so that this country is highly prosperous today. We should, in addition, try to introduce manufacturing industries

in this country so that Malaya may not be too dependent on rubber and tin.

One distinctive feature in the Malayan situation is that the different racial communities have throughout the history of this country lived in peace and friendship and being animated by a spirit of cooperation. I hope the members of the different racial communities here will persist in maintaining and promoting this peace and harmony and spirit of co-operation. Only in this way can Malaya become a great country and a great nation.

The people of this country should also do all they can

to maintain peace and friendship with outside countries, especially with Great Britain, the protecting power which has done much to make this country what it is today. We should equally cultivate friendship and cooperation with other Asian countries, such as Indonesia, India, Burma, China and others.

I, personally, have found the "EASTERN WORLD," a magazine devoted to Asian affairs and widely read in this part of the world, to be highly interesting and informative about Asian affairs.

Long live Malaya!

DATO SIR CHENG-LOCK TAN

## THE WOMAN OF MALAYA AND HER INDEPENDENCE AFTER MERDEKA

By Han Suyin

**I**N many countries of once-colonised South-East Asia, political independence, and some of the more visible features of modern progress—such as airplane and radio communications—grafted on to a basically undeveloped economic structure, have outstripped the social framework and give a deceptive aspect of modernity which tends to cloud the fact that local ways of life, prejudices and customs lag far behind.

One feature little talked about, but fundamentally in its retrograde effect upon the social and ideological development of the peoples of South-East Asia in their evolution towards modern statehood, is the status or lack of status of the women. It seems a far, faint cry from acceptance of harem conditions to a successful 5-year plan, yet to the writer, and to many a thoughtful woman in these countries, the relation between the social, religious and other handicaps under which the female half of the population live, and a consequent retardation in the fields of education, social and public consciousness, and even economic achievement is obvious, even if hotly controversial to the masculine moiety.

I propose to draw attention to the position of the Malay woman in relation to Merdeka, and this for two reasons: firstly, because it is the Malay woman who suffers most from the handicaps of antiquated social structures, and secondly, because, paradoxically enough, and exactly as in Indonesia, the Malay woman is politically conscious, and had a far-reaching, decisive influence two years ago in returning to power the Alliance government which, today, celebrates Merdeka for Malaya.

Reminiscence, in this hour of triumph, cannot be amiss. I remember the first "independence procession," held in early 1954, in Johore, demanding "Merdeka." It was a peaceful, orderly, and brilliantly colourful parade, and although the local police, fearing clashes, had asked European women and children to stay indoors that day, there was nothing but friendliness, dignity and courtesy on the part of the demonstrators as they went in cohorts through the streets, shouting Merdeka. The most conspicuous feature was the number of

Malay women, clad in their best, marching along behind the men, and behind the Malay women came quite a group of Chinese women. In those days Malay women's organisations produced fearless orators, and many a night, in the flare of arc lamps, on the green padangs, I remember listening to the voice of one or another such woman, beautiful and intelligent, whose compelling ardour in the cause of freedom was enthusiastically received by the multi-racial crowds.

Then came elections, the first to be held in Malaya, and contrary to the predictions of many a British "old Malay hand" of the time (conversations held at clubs and restaurants, confidently asserted that Malaya was "not ready" and that the people did not want Merdeka) the Alliance government came in with an enormous majority. The newspapers, recording this momentous event, were full of pictures of the people voting; most outstanding feature of comment and photographs was the number of Malay women at the polling booths. Some of them had trudged many miles, carrying their babies and pulling toddlers by the hand, in order to get to the booths. And what they voted for was Merdeka, independence. Where was their renowned (and man-praised) passivity, shyness, and other "womanly" attributes? Gone with the wind of Merdeka. A glum British official that evening told me: "It's the women who've done it," and although not entirely true, yet it is absolutely true that it was a magnificent demonstration of the will to Merdeka from the considered more backward, and certainly the more handicapped, section of Malaya's people.

Exactly like her Indonesian sister, the Malay woman showed political consciousness, and like her Indonesian sister, she has not achieved a social or economic status on a par with her importance as a voter and as a citizen. But whereas in Indonesia new currents of thought and a more liberal outlook are forcing the issue of woman's status, in Malaya, at this moment of Merdeka, there are alarming signs that whatever little equality and freedom the woman might have achieved is in danger from elements well-meaning but too inclined to carry out the letter rather than the spirit of Islamic law.

This assertion is not idly made; in the past few months, and even in the English-language press, there have been a record number of letters and comments chiefly from Malays, concerning the marriage question, divorce question, and the religious laws affecting the status of the Malay woman.

In Malaya the structure of the marriage relationship is polygamous. According to the religious laws, a man is allowed four wives, but no more, at a time. Movements for monogamy are afoot among the Chinese and Indian elements in Singapore, but these are decidedly not encouraged; in fact, nothing makes for more popularity in Malaya than for a public pronouncement, such as I myself committed the other day, enunciating that man was by nature polygamous. Monogamy and the rights of women, when championed as a principle, has a faintly obnoxious—I would not go so far as to say subversive—flavour; and only recently an eminent businessman, addressing the Business and Professional Women's Association of Singapore (comprising female doctors, lawyers, bankers, etc.), urged them to abandon their careers. "Let the men perspire, your role is to inspire," said this otherwise witty and charming person: "woman's place is the home, her function to bear children," etc., etc. What the women's reactions were is not reported.

The recent casting off by divorce of respectably married first wives of high personalities in favour of marriage, by their ex-husbands, to dance hall girls, has led to no more than a little covert head-shaking, not at the husband, but at the "immorality" of dancing in public. In polygamy an essential democracy prevails: a princess in her own right, an aristocratic, well-educated and highly respected woman may be cast off for the sake of a young girl both illiterate and barely presentable. Nothing counts but man's whim and pleasure, but behind this whim and the pleasure lies the redoubtable apparatus of religious sanction and the laws of the Quran—interpreted by men. Though publicity is only accorded when this happens in high places, such events are of daily occurrence in Malay society from high to low.

Women thus cast off are entitled, by religious law, to three months "sustenance" for themselves and their children, after which the issues become very confused indeed and the husband is not required to pay more than a minimum sum, and even this is not enforceable but depends on "exhortation," or the kindness of the husband. Very often poverty, the burden of a new wife, other children, are pleaded as extenuating circumstances and the net result is that the woman is left to fend for herself, only too often with a few children on her hands.

If this situation were uncommon, it might not provoke comment, but it is only too frequent. It is estimated (by Malay sources themselves) that fully 60 percent of all Malay marriages end in divorce. This astonishing figure, surely a world record, has not been contested by the religious authorities, and is often publicly quoted. A cursory medical survey, made by asking patients who attend an ordinary clinic, shows that at age of 20 more than half of the young Malay girls I attended were divorced, most of them with two or three children to support.

A feature of this astronomic rate is that there are more

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such "divorces" in the kampongs, in the rural communities, than in the cities, where there is less poverty and a more highly educated type of Malay community.

The concomitant to having a female population entirely dependent for its financial security upon man's pleasure is prostitution, now causing serious alarm to the religious authorities of Malaya. After Merdeka Malaya will be a Muslim state, subject to religious law. The Religious Affairs departments will have a great deal to do with the enforcement, expounding and enactment of laws. This explains the recent spate of vehement discussion on aspects of marriage and divorce in the Malay communities. At the moment, the problems of female destitution and female prostitution are being met with what I can best describe as medieval thoughts of "punishment" and "repression." Space does not allow me to go into the various interpretations of Quranic law which are quoted back and forth daily in the press to support or to oppose such moves; suffice it to say that the prevalent points of view cannot but fill a woman with apprehension. To give an example. It has been suggested that in order to uphold the dignity of Malay womanhood, such "lowly" professions as waitresses, dance-hall girls, etc., etc. be forbidden to them, and that prostitution and such crimes be severely punished with fines and imprisonment or both. To ask what an illiterate woman, cast off by her husband, unable to obtain employment otherwise than by selling herself, and with a family to support, must do other than seek a "lowly employment" is perhaps being otiose.

Where only punitive or repressive methods seem to






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appeal to bodies in authority, a dreamlike element of non-sensicalness creeps in. Thus it is suggested that if a Malay woman is found in "close proximity" or in "suggestive proximity" with a non-Muslim, severe punishment should be meted to both. There has always been an element of unease, if not positive fear, in marriages contracted between Muslims and non-Muslims. Such marriages meet with a great deal of hostility on the part of the Malays, and are near impossible in fact unless the non-Muslim partner embraces the Muslim religion. The laws of equal inheritance among offspring of marriages between Muslims and non-Muslims were only recently made clear in Singapore. It was gratifying to find that tolerance and commonsense prevailed here against more rigorous interpretations by a minority demanding in the name of the Holy Quran that such offspring be debarred from inheritance.

This aspect is one fruitful of future controversy. Everyone admits (the Chief Minister first of all), that Malaya will only now be ready to "grow into unity." Now unity and harmony, it seems to me, can best be achieved in a society where inter-marriage between the various races is not only possible, but positively encouraged. At the moment one of the features of Malaya's multi-racial society is the extraordinary absence (apart from a few courageous exceptions and chiefly in the cities), of inter-racial marriage between Malays, Chinese, Indians and other races. This statement I must qualify. Absence of mixing is often due to geography: only the towns provide possible association. In the countryside the Chinese have been isolated into "new" villages, many of

them still under emergency regulations, curfewed, wired and some of them (the blacker spots) fed communally in teens to prevent passage of food to the jungle. The Malay kampongs are apart and there is no connection between two. But other than geography, the stress upon religious conversion before marriage is socially possible as a feature which plays its part in this association of the two larger elements of Malaya. The present situation, therefore, is not one conducive to growth of unity.

Last but not least there is the problem of the advancement of the community as a whole. Handicapped by illiteracy, by insecurity after marriage, and hamstrung by religious taboos, how can the Malay woman hope to secure for herself in her own country, the same position as will be available to women of other communities? If being in "close proximity" with non-Muslims will mean that nursing, medicine, social welfare work will bear a taboo of "non-respectability," how on earth will these jobs, which at the moment are being filled to the extent of 85 percent by Chinese women, and fully 90 percent by Indian women (the latter figure a much higher percentage than the total number of Indians in the country warrants), become available to the Malay women themselves?

I would not point out these handicaps were I not convinced that these problems are agitating Malay public opinion, and that the tolerant, sincere, and liberal elements among the religious authorities in Malaya are devoting much time and thought to the matter. Otherwise so much discussion of these questions would not have filtered in the English press. The Malay woman is not different from any of her sisters of any other race; and to her are due equal rights and benefits, otherwise a hard core of ignorance and inertia will remain to hamper the development of the whole of the Malay community after Merdeka.

In this respect I quote one of these able and intelligent Malay women, in a recent public letter to the newspapers, as it reflects a good deal of Malay female public opinion, as should therefore be heeded:

No one has questioned the unbounded wisdom of God but when he revealed the tenets to our Prophet, Arabia was a country inhabited by nomads . . . the steam engine was undreamed of, not to mention aviation and nuclear power . . . in the Muslim world, rigid observation and conformity with all the tenets have been found impossible . . . women have been denied basic rights in Malaya. The one-way traffic in divorce has alarmed thinking Muslims, but women, being inarticulate and feeble agitators, have had their needs left unattended. . . .

There is no intention to tamper with God-made laws but a new social order is now being ushered in with Merdeka . . . religious reform is essential, are we to forge ahead and progress side by side with the rest of the racial and religious groups in Malaya.

This appeal from an able and articulate Malay woman will, I am sure, be given due consideration by the Alliance government, which owes so much to the efforts of the Malay women at the time when it was struggling for power, now that Merdeka is here. It is therefore all the more fitting that today a tribute should be paid not only to the feminine qualities of shyness, retirement and obedience to man-made laws, of the Malay woman, but also to the invaluable contribution she could give to her own country, once her handicaps are being attended to in a spirit of common, simple humanity.

# The Malayan Tin Mining Industry

By W. H. Owens

AS the greatest tin producing country in the world, Malaya accounts for approximately one-third of the world's supply at the present time. Just as tin is one of the material foundations of 20th century civilisation, so it is one of the two basic industries (the other, of course, being rubber) upon which Malaya is entirely dependent for its prosperity. That the Federation is among the most advanced of the South-East Asian countries, with steadily rising living standards, is due largely to the tin mining industry and, in particular, its rapid and remarkable recovery after the disaster of the Second World War.

Since large-scale mining by modern methods was introduced towards the end of the last century, tin has contributed to the Malayan economy in many ways. At the outset it attracted immigrants to some of the most sparsely populated areas, and so opened the way for new agricultural and other profitable development. It created new towns in the mining districts and gave impetus to the construction of roads and railways.

In fact, the first roads in the Peninsula were actually constructed by tin miners to facilitate the movement of tin from mines which were too far from the waterways—Malaya's natural transport routes. The Federation's great western trunk road, running up from Singapore to the Thai border, serves the principal tin fields of Negri Sembilan, Selangor and Perak. Similarly, the pattern of railway development followed the growth of the tin mining industry.

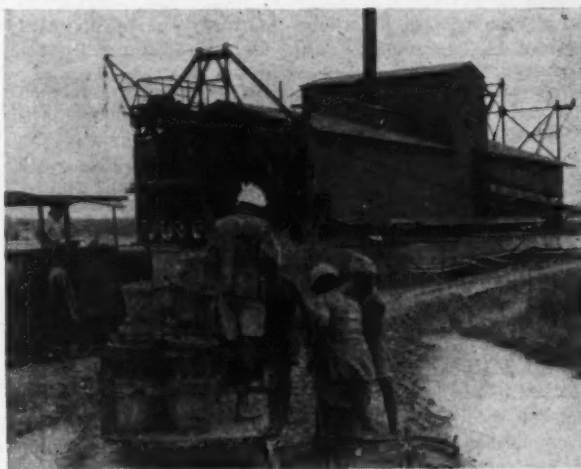
Tin has been mined in Malaya by the Chinese for many centuries. The biggest Chinese immigrations took place round about the middle of the last century following the discovery of the rich Larut tin fields in Perak. By 1862 there were nearly 25,000 Chinese working the Larut fields, and only ten years later their number had soared to some 40,000. As the old tin workings can still be seen around the sides of the great open-cast mines of today, so occasional finds of skeletons and weapons recall the bitter fighting between rival factions over the right to work the lodes of tin.

Technical developments in western tinplate manufacture, during the 1880's, created huge new demands for Malayan tin. It was also at this time that Europeans entered the industry, introducing new techniques and the first mining machinery. While some of these early European ventures failed, others were very successful and some of the mining properties which were then developed are still productive today. From 1850 until shortly before the first World War, tin mining was certainly the chief factor in the development of Malaya. Even at the beginning of this century, the export duty on tin alone represented 45 percent of the total Government revenue. In every year up to the Japanese occupation in the last war, the total annual revenue collected from the export duty on tin was higher than that derived from any

other commodity, except in 1941. This has also been the case in several post-war years.

Methods of mining tin in Malaya today include dredging, gravel pump mining, hydraulic mining, open-cast mining and also lode mining underground. The largest lode mine in the world is about 30 miles inland from Kuantan, on the east side of the Peninsula; this goes as deep as 1,600 feet and has some 200 miles of underground tunnels. Dredging, which accounts for over half the Federation's production of tin, is carried out over large areas of swampy ground. Because modern bucket dredges are capable of handling such huge volumes of material, they can economically mine ground where the ore content is fairly low. Capital costs of dredging are high, however, so that to justify the outlay on machinery, equipment and buildings, the available tin-bearing area must be large.

Bucket dredges were first installed by the mining companies over forty years ago, and their great success led to a big increase in the flow of overseas capital for Malayan tin mining development. Between the wars, larger and more efficient machines were put to work every year, thrusting their bands and buckets ever deeper in the alluvial deposits. The most modern dredgers can dig to depths of 120 feet or more. It was the increased use of large deep-digging dredges that so considerably stepped up production on the European mine holdings. In 1920 European companies produced only 36



Malaya has the largest tin dredgers in the world. Out of the 126 dredgers pre-war, it was considered that 104 could be repaired while 22 had to be written off as having no further operating value. The bucket dredge is an endless chain of manganese steel buckets, and weighs up to 835 tons. The operating costs are lower than for any other form of tin mining. Sikh workmen are seen here loading buckets of the tin ore on to rail trolleys for the first stage of transport

percent of Malayan tin compared with 64 percent by the Chinese. By 1938, however, the position was entirely reversed; European production was 67 percent as against the Chinese 33 percent.

Open-cast and hydraulic tin mines also represent large capital investment with their heavy earth shifting equipment, power machinery and pipelines. Where smaller and more shallow areas have to be worked, gravel pumping is the most economical method. Today there are many hundreds of gravel pump mines in Malaya, and although these operate on a small scale individually, together they make up an important part of the whole industry.

A tremendous amount of rehabilitation was necessary after the second World War, since as a result of the Japanese occupation the tin industry suffered great disaster. As the invaders advanced through the Peninsula, dredges and power stations were put out of action, gravel pump and open-cast mines were flooded, and engines and machinery blown up. Practically all the country dredges were badly damaged, and nearly one-fifth of them were total losses.

The task of rehabilitation was made difficult through scarcity of labour and supplies and the activities of the Communist terrorists. Yet in spite of these handicaps, it was accomplished with quite phenomenal success. In the four-year period, 1946-49, total production of Malayan tin rose from only 8,400 tons a year to almost 55,000 tons a year, and the industry was virtually back to normal again. This remarkable recovery of the tin industry was, of course, of quite inestimable value to the general economic rehabilitation of Malaya as a whole.

The future progress of tin mining in Malaya depends largely on the discovery of new tin-bearing areas to replace those already exhausted or approaching exhaustion. Prospecting will need to be undertaken on a considerably greater scale than hitherto if the Federation is to maintain its position as the world's leading tin producer. More overseas capital will be required and must be attracted to assist future development. Such development is of the most vital importance to the welfare of Malaya, whose whole economy is so closely linked up with the tin mining industry.

## More Rubber Research

*By a Special Kuala Lumpur Correspondent*

**M**ALAYA'S fabulous rubber industry, which employs some 400,000 workers, has been told that it must spend another £250,000 a year on research and development if it hopes to keep pace with the strides being made by the synthetic rubber industry.

This advice comes from Professor Geoffrey E. Blackman, an Oxford University scientist, who, together with three other scientists, was last year commissioned to go to Malaya and frame a long-term programme for research and development in the rubber industry. The mission was paid for by the rubber industry itself through the Rubber Producers' Council.

At last the recommendations of the Blackman mission have been made known. They suggest that rubber producers should increase the cess—a deduction imposed by the industry itself and paid by all rubber growers on every pound of rubber exported from this country. The cess is then channelled for research and development.

For the last four or five years this particular cess on rubber has been 0.5 Malayan cents on every pound. On an average it has produced about £750,000 a year for research, but today this is not enough.

Professor Blackman urges that this cess should be increased to a new "ceiling" of 1 cent on every pound but believes that for the time being .75 cents would be sufficient. This would raise an additional nearly £400,000 a year, a slice of which could go into a reserve fund.

According to rubber sources here this recommendation has been accepted and will shortly be introduced.

Professor Blackman stresses that, coupled with a more intensive research and development programme, must be schemes for a reduction of cost in the production of natural rubber so as to enable it to be sold more cheaply to meet growing synthetic competition.

He maintains, too, that more attractive salaries and terms of service must be offered to scientists coming to

the Rubber Research Institute in Kuala Lumpur. Professor Blackman makes it clear that scientists these days are at a premium and to get top men to come to Malaya the industry must be prepared to pay top salaries.

The industry is told that it must strive to sell natural rubber at between 55 and 60 (Malayan) cents a pound. If it could do this it would be in a very favourable position to compete with synthetic, even although synthetic was just slightly cheaper.

Today, natural rubber is selling at about 90 cents a pound. During the Korean war it rose to \$2.40 a pound.

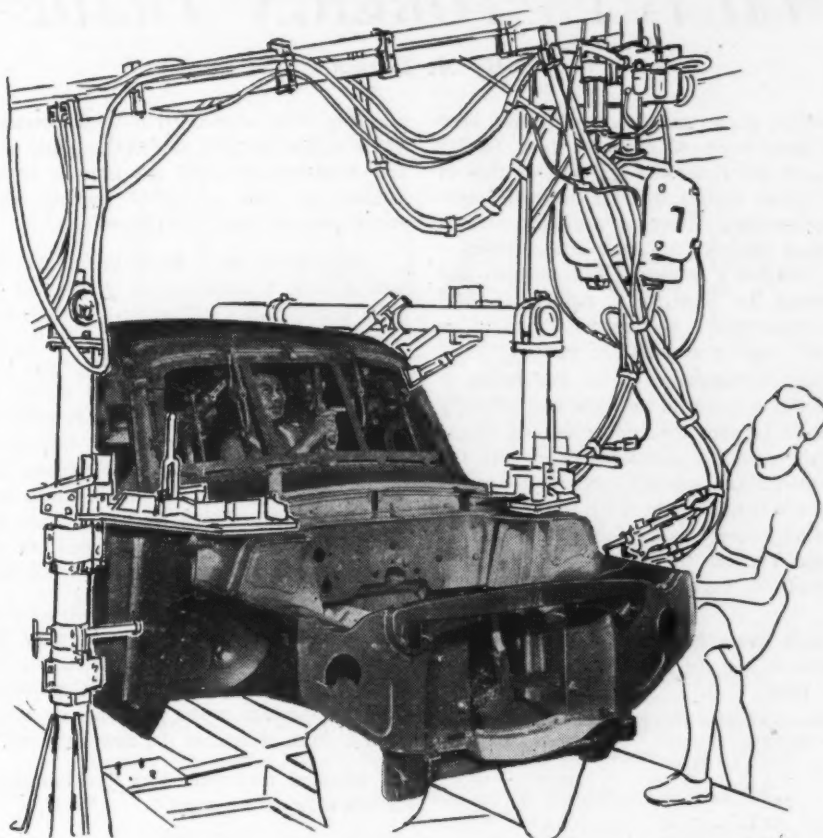
### Rubber in Engineering

Development of new applications for rubber and dissemination of knowledge about these new applications is an important function within the activities of The Natural Rubber Development Board. Recently the Board has organised a Conference on "Rubber in Engineering", at which papers on "Rubber must be used correctly", "Load-deflection relations and surface strain distributions for flat rubber pads", "The use of rubber in heavy engineering", "Dynamic fatigue life of rubber components", and "Rubber in agriculture" were read. These have now been published as a book, in the introduction to which Mr. H. H. Facer, Chairman of the Board, says that "Although rubber has for a long time been indispensable to the engineer, its development has been empirical, based on trial and error rather than on scientific design."

### Swissair opens second Far East service

Following the opening in April of a new route to the Far East terminating in Tokyo, Swissair have now introduced a second weekly service leaving Zurich and Geneva on Fridays and calling at Calcutta and Hong Kong, instead of Bombay and Manila, which continue to be served by the original flight. At the same time, the original service, leaving Switzerland on Tuesdays, has been re-routed to operate non-stop from Geneva to Cairo. Athens and Beirut are now served by the second weekly flight.





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# MALAYA'S FOREIGN TRADE

By A. James

**M**ALAYA'S foreign trade statistics which have been containing a break-down of Malaya's total foreign trade, that is of the Federation as well as that of Singapore, excluded figures relating to trade between Singapore and the mainland, treating Malaya as a single economic unit. According to these statistics Malaya's total exports in 1956 amounted to \$M4,165.7 million (£486 million) and total imports amounted to \$M4,153.1 million (£484.5 million), while the Federation's exports were valued at \$M1,432.9 million and imports at \$M1,055 million.

The advent of the independence of the Federation of Malaya, it is hoped, will not interrupt the close and naturally grown economic relations between the Federation and Singapore, and that with the economic development of both the areas the mutual commercial contacts will continue to develop as well. At a time when in various parts of the world attempts are being made to build-up larger economic units the erection of any artificial barriers between the Federation and Singapore would be bound to have harmful effects on all concerned.

The following table shows Malaya's foreign trade with her main trading partners, and the share of this trade taken by the Federation in 1956:

Total Malaya's Foreign Trade		Federation of Malaya		
	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports
United Kingdom	756.6	687.7	332.5	284.4
Hong Kong	126.1	56.6	39.5	4.9
Sarawak	212.5	84.0	—	0.1
India	94.4	120.4	28.4	57.0
Australia	165.3	153.2	58.0	18.1
West Germany	91.3	196.1	29.7	111.6
France	37.0	190.4	14.6	78.7
Italy	23.1	175.0	3.6	77.8
Holland	75.5	147.2	25.2	67.1
China	131.9	23.7	—	—
Indonesia	1,115.1	227.7	130.3	7.5
Japan	256.4	335.6	46.4	119.6
Thailand	307.7	108.7	170.5	38.5
United States	187.7	629.4	22.4	345.3
(all figures in million Malayan dollars)				

Malaya's imports from the United Kingdom increased from \$M690.5 million in 1955 to \$M756.6 million worth in 1956, and reached the value of \$M267.5 million during the first 4 months of 1957 which amounts to an annual rate of over \$M800 million.

According to UK statistics UK trade with Malaya developed as follows:

	1955	1956	1957
	(first 4 mths of the year)		
UK imports from Federation of Malaya	13.6	19.6	14.1
UK exports to Federation of Malaya	12.1	13.5	13.6
UK imports from Singapore	10.7	14.7	10.1
UK exports to Singapore	12.8	14.2	14.3

(all figures in million £)

Among the West European suppliers of Malaya, West Germany has been developing her exports to Malaya con-

siderably. The imports from West Germany increased from \$M68 million in 1955 to \$M91 million in 1956. During the first 4 months of 1957 the imports from West Germany reached the value of \$M43 million, which represents an annual rate of nearly \$M130 million.

Malaya's imports from Japan also show an increase, namely from \$M238 million in 1955 to \$M256 million in 1956, and to \$M93 million during the first 4 months of 1957 (annual rate of nearly \$M280 million). Japanese industrial circles are interested in securing iron ore supplies from Malaya, and (with the approval of the Malayan Federal government) a Japanese concern recently decided to invest 49 percent in a company for the development of the Temangan iron ore mines in Kelantan. The remaining 51 percent are being held by British firms, and the iron ore is to be exported to Japan. In another case Japanese firms are to supply machinery for the exploitation of the Endau iron ore mines and to receive iron ore from there.

While no spectacular changes in the pattern of Malaya's foreign trade are expected to take place following the proclamation of independence, particularly as the authorities pursued a liberal policy in granting import licences from different countries in the past, one can assume that the competition from abroad in the new state will become stronger.

Malaya's total trade with East European countries show the following development:

	1955		1956		1957	
	(whole year)		(whole year)		(first 4 mths)	
	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports
Czechoslovakia	8.4	3.7	10.1	26.4	3.5	15.5
East Germany	1.8	—	2.7	—	0.8	0.1
Hungary	0.8	0.1	0.6	1.0	—	0.1
Poland	1.3	30.3	2.5	42.8	0.9	22.2
Soviet Union	—	1.3	0.4	35.3	0.6	2.2

(all figures in million Malayan dollars)

Malaya's imports from China increased from \$M115.1 million in 1955 to \$M131.9 million in 1956, and reached the value of \$M61.9 million during the first 4 months of 1957 (representing an annual rate of over \$M185 million), while the exports to China rose from \$M12.9 million in 1955 to \$M23.7 million in 1956, but show a certain decrease in 1957, when the value of exports during the first 4 months amounted to \$M2.9 million, an annual rate of only just under \$M9 million.

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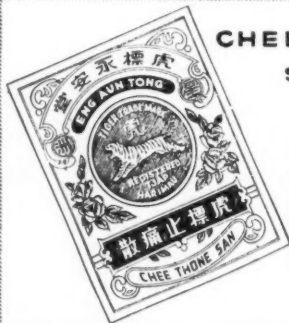
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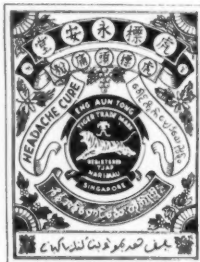


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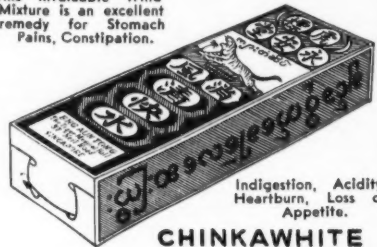
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